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PASSAGES

FROM THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF

GEORGE FOX,

TAKEN FROM HIS JOURNAL.

WITH THE DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE EDITOR
TO GIVE A FAIR REPRESENTATION
OF HIS CHARACTER AND RELIGIOUS VIEWS,
AND TO LEAD THE READER
TO SEEK A FULLER ACQUAINTANCE WITH THEM.

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PREFACE.

WILLIAM PENN, in his Preface to George Fox's journal, says of him:

He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own; and though the side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound, and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him about Divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it showed beyond all contradiction that God sent him, that no arts or parts had any share in his matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom

to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up the kingdom of God in the hearts of men, and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say with my Lord and Master upon the like occasion, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world and revealed them to babes. For many times hath my soul bowed in an humble thankfulness to the Lord that He did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age of his blessed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that his message and work He sent him to do might come with less suspicion or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it.

He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

But above all, he excelled in prayer. The inwardness

and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him most will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear.

He was of an innocent life, no busy-body nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical; what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that everywhere and in all, but with love, compassion, and long suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them, and because thereof the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

Though God had visibly clothed him with a Divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it, but held his place in the Church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all; holding and exercising his eldership in the Invisible

Power that had gathered them, with reference to the head and care over the body, and was received only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age; who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward and not outward; and that he got it and kept it by the love of God and power of an endless life. I write my knowledge and not report, and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature, and that by night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries, and I can say I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly minded man. A divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things; that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere. Civil, beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour. Very temperate, eating little and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us, and as he lived so he died, feeling the same Eternal Power that had raised and preserved him in his last moments.

PASSAGES

FROM

GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL.

THAT all may know the dealings of the Lord with me, and the various exercises, trials, and troubles through which He led me, in order to prepare and fit me for the work unto which He had appointed me, and may thereby be drawn to admire and glorify his infinite wisdom and goodness, I think fit, before I proceed to set forth my public travels in the service of truth, briefly to mention how it was with me in my youth, and how the work of the Lord was begun and gradually carried on in me even from my childhood.

I was born in the month called July, in the year 1624, at Drayton in the Clay, in Leicestershire. My father's name was Christopher Fox; he was by profession a weaver, an honest man, and there was a seed of God in him. The neighbours called him Righteous Christer. My mother was an upright woman; her maiden name was Mary Lago, of the family of the Lagos and of the stock of the martyrs.

In my very young years I had a gravity and stayedness of mind and spirit not usual in children, insomuch that

when I have seen old men carry themselves lightly and wantonly towards each other, I have had a dislike thereof risen in my heart, and have said within myself, If ever I come to be a man, surely I should not do so, nor be so wanton.

When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for while I was a child I was taught how to walk to be kept pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things and to act faithfully two ways, viz., inwardly to God and outwardly to man, and to keep to yea and nay in all things; for the Lord showed me that though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit and changeable words, yet I was to keep to yea and nay in all things, and that my words should be few and savoury, seasoned with grace. And that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health; using the creatures in their service as servants in their places, to the glory of Him that hath created them.

Afterwards as I grew up my relations thought to have made me a priest, but others persuaded to the contrary. Whereupon I was put to a man that was a shoemaker by trade, and that dealt in wool and used grazing and sold cattle, and a great deal went through my hands. While I was with him he was blest; but after I left him he broke and came to nothing. I never wronged man or woman in all that time; for the Lord's power was with me and over me to preserve me. While I was in that service I used in my dealings the word verily, and it was a common saying among people that knew me, If George says verily there is no altering him. When boys and rude people would laugh at me I let them alone and went my way; but peo-

ple had generally a love for me for my innocency and honesty.

When I came towards nineteen years of age, I being upon business at a fair, one of my cousins whose name was Bradford, being a professor and having another professor with him, came to me and asked me to drink part of a jug of beer with them, and I being thirsty went in with them; for I loved any that had a sense of good or that did seek after the Lord. And when we had drunk a glass apiece, they began to drink healths and called for more drink, agreeing together that he that would not drink should pay all. I was grieved that any that made profession of religion should offer to do so. They grieved me very much, having never had such a thing put to me before by any sort of people. Wherefore I rose up to be gone, and putting my hand into my pocket I took out a groat and laid it down upon the table before them and said, If it be so, I'll leave you. So I went away. And when I had done what business I had to do, I returned home; but did not go to bed that night nor could not sleep; but sometimes walked up and down and sometimes prayed and cried to the Lord, who said unto me: Thou seest how young people go together into vanity and old people into the earth; and thou must forsake all, both young and old, and keep out of all and be as a stranger unto all.

Then at the command of God, on the ninth day of the Seventh month, 1643, I left my relations, and brake off all familiarity or fellowship with young or old. And I passed to Lutterworth, where I stayed some time; and from thence I went to Northampton, where also I made some stay; then passed from thence to Newport-Pagnel in Buckinghamshire,

where, after I had stayed awhile, I went unto Barnet, and came thither in the Fourth month, called June, in the year 1644. And as I thus travelled through the countries, professors took notice of me and sought to be acquainted with me, but I was afraid of them; for I was sensible they did not possess what they professed. Now during the time that I was at Barnet a strong temptation to despair came upon me; and then I saw how Christ was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in. And sometimes I kept myself retired in my chamber, and often walked solitary in the chase there to wait upon the Lord.

And I wondered why these things should come to me, and I looked upon myself and said, Was I ever so before? Then I thought because I had forsaken my relations, I had done amiss against them. So I was brought to call to mind all my time that I had spent, and to consider whether I had wronged any. But temptations grew more and more, and I was tempted almost to despair. And when Satan could not effect his design upon me that way, then he laid snares for me, and baits to draw me to commit some sin whereby he might take advantage to bring me to despair. I was about twenty years of age when these exercises came upon me, and some years I continued in that condition in great troubles, and fain I would have put it from me. And I went to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.

From Barnet I went to London, where I took a lodging, and was under great misery and trouble there; for I looked upon the great professors of the city of London, and I saw all was dark and under the chain of darkness. And I had an uncle there, one Pickering, a Baptist, (and they were

tender then;) yet I could not impart my mind to him nor join with them; for I saw all, young and old, where they were. Some tender people would have had me stay, but I was fearful, and returned homewards into Leicestershire again, having a regard upon my mind unto my parents and relations lest I should grieve them, who I understood were troubled at my absence.

When I was come down into Leicestershire my relations would have had me married; but I told them I was but a lad and I must get wisdom. Others would have had me into the auxiliary band among the soldiery, but I refused; and I was grieved that they proffered such things to me, being a tender youth. Then I went to Coventry, where I took a chamber for awhile at a professor's house till people began to be acquainted with me; for there were many tender people in that town. And after some time I went into my own country again, and was there about a year in great sorrows and troubles, and walked many nights by myself.

Then the priest of Drayton, (the town of my birth) whose name was Nathaniel Stevens, would come often to me and I went often to him; and another priest sometimes would come with him. And they would have given place to me to hear me; and I would ask them questions and reason with them. And this priest Stevens asked me a question, viz., Why Christ cried out upon the cross My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? And why He said, If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not my will but thine be done? And I told him at that time the sins of all mankind were upon Him, and their iniquities and transgressions with which He was wounded; which He was to

bear and to be an offering for them as He was man, but died not, as He was God. And so, in that He died for all men and tasted death for every man, He was an offering for the sins of the whole world. This I spake, being at that time in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings and what He went through. And the priest said it was a very good, full answer, and such an one as he had not heard. And at that time he would applaud and speak highly of me to others. And what I said in discourse to him on the week days, that he would preach of on the First days; for which I did not like him. And this priest afterwards became my great persecutor.

After this I went to another ancient priest at Mansetter in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations; but he was ignorant of my condition; and he bid me take tobacco and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in an estate to sing; I could not sing. Then he bid me come again and he would tell me many things. But when I came again he was angry and pettish; for my former words had displeased him. And he told my troubles and sorrows and griefs to his servants, so that it was got among the milk lasses, which grieved me that I should open my mind to such an one. I saw they were all miserable comforters, and this brought my troubles more upon me. Then I heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man; and I went seven miles to him; but I found him but like an empty, hollow cask. Then I heard of one called Doctor Cradock of Coventry; and I went to him and I asked him the ground of temptations and despair, and how troubles came to be wrought in man. He asked

me who was Christ's father and mother. I told him Mary was his mother, and that He was supposed to be the son of Joseph; but He was the Son of God. Now as we were walking together in his garden, the alley being narrow, I chanced in turning to set my foot on the side of a bed, at which the man was in such a rage as if his house had been on fire; and thus all our discourse was lost, and I went away in sorrow, worse than I was when I came. I thought them miserable comforters, and I saw they were all as nothing to me; for they could not reach my condition. After this I went to another, one Macham, a priest in high account. And he would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head, though they endeavoured it; my body being as it were dried up with sorrows, grief, and troubles, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born to see vanity and wickedness; or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness nor vanity; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed. And when the time called Christmas came, while others were feasting and sporting themselves, I would have gone and looked out poor widows from house to house, and have given them some money. And when I was invited to marriages, as I sometimes was, I would go to none at all; but the next day or soon after I would go and visit them; and if they were poor I gave them some money; for I had wherewith both to keep myself from being chargeable to others, and to administer something to the necessities of others.

About the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going

to Coventry and entering towards the gate, a consideration arose in me how it was said that all Christians are believers, both Protestants and Papists. And the Lord opened to me that if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and passed from death to life; and that none were true believers but such; and though others said they were believers, yet they were not. At another time, as I was walking in a field on a First-day morning, the Lord opened unto me that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ; and I stranged at it because it was the common belief of people. But I saw it clearly as the Lord opened it to me and was satisfied, and admired the goodness of the Lord, who had opened this thing unto me that morning, which struck at priest Stevens his ministry, namely, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man fit to be a minister of Christ. So that which opened in me, I saw struck at the priest's ministry. But my relations were much troubled at me that I would not go with them to hear the priest; for I would get into the orchard or the fields with my Bible by myself. And I told them did not the Apostle say to believers that they needed no man to teach them, but as the anointing teacheth them? And though they knew this was Scripture and that it was true, yet they would be grieved because I could not be subject in this matter to go to hear the priest with them; for I saw that a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be. And I saw that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify or fit a man to be a minister of Christ, and what then should I follow such for? So neither them nor any of the dissenting people could I join

with; but was as a stranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

At another time it was opened in me, That God, who made the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands. This at the first seemed a strange word, because both priests and people use to call their temples or churches dreadful places, and holy ground, and the temples of God. But the Lord showed me, so that I did see clearly that He did not dwell in these temples which men had commanded and set up, but in people's hearts; for both Stephen and the Apostle Paul bore testimony that He did not dwell in temples made with hands, not even in that which He had once commanded to be built, since He put an end to it; but that his people were his temple, and He dwelt in them. This opened in me as I walked in the fields to my relations' house. And when I came there they told me that Nath. Stevens the priest had been there, and told them he was afraid of me for going after new lights. And I smiled in myself, knowing what the Lord had opened in me concerning him and his brethren. But I told not my relations, who, though they saw beyond the priests, yet they went to hear them, and were grieved because I would not go also. But I brought them Scriptures, and told them there was an anointing within man to teach him, and that the Lord would teach his people himself. And I had great openings concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when I spake of them, the priests and professors would say that was a sealed-up book, and would have kept me out of it. But I told them Christ could open the seals, and that they were the nearest things to us; for the Epistles were written to

the saints that lived in former ages, but the Revelations were written of things to come.

Now though I had great openings, yet great trouble and temptations came many times upon me, so that when it was day I wished for night, and when it was night I wished for day. And by reason of the openings I had in my troubles, I could say as David said, Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. And when I had openings, they answered one another and answered the Scriptures; for I had great openings of the Scriptures. And when I was in troubles, one trouble also answered to another.

About the beginning of the year 1647, I was moved of the Lord to go into Darbyshire, where I met with some friendly people, and had many discourses with them. Then passing further into the Peak-Country, I met with more friendly people, and with some in empty, high notions. And travelling on through some parts of Leicestershire and into Nottinghamshire, there I met with a tender people and a very tender woman whose name was Elizabeth Hootton; and with these I had some meetings and discourses. But my troubles continued, and I was often under great temptations, and I fasted much, and walked abroad in solitary places many days; and often took my Bible and went and sate in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on; and frequently in the night walked mournfully about by myself; for I was a man of sorrows in the times of the first workings of the Lord in me.

Now during all this time I was never joined in profession of religion with any, but gave up myself to the Lord;

having forsaken all evil company, and taken leave of father and mother and all other relations, and travelled up and down as a stranger in the earth which way the Lord inclined my heart; taking a chamber to myself in the town where I came, and tarrying sometimes a month, sometimes more, sometimes less in a place; for I durst not stay long in any place, being afraid both of professor and profane, lest, being a tender young man, I should be hurt by conversing much with either. For which reason I kept myself much as a stranger; seeking heavenly wisdom and getting knowledge from the Lord; and was brought off from outward things to rely wholly on the Lord alone. And though my exercises and troubles were very great, yet they were not so continual but that I had some intermissions; and was sometimes brought into such an heavenly joy that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery. Oh! the everlasting love of God to my soul when I was in great distress. When my troubles and torments were great, then was his love exceeding great. Thou, Lord, makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness and a barren wilderness a fruitful field! Thou bringest down and settest up! Thou killest and makest alive! All honour and glory be to Thee, O Lord of glory! The knowledge of Thee in the Spirit is life; but that knowledge which is fleshly works death. And while there is this knowledge in the flesh, deceit and self will conform to anything, and will say yes, yes to that which it doth not know. The knowledge which the world hath of what the Prophets and Apostles spake, is a fleshly

knowledge; and the apostates from the life in which the Prophets and Apostles were, have gotten their words, the Holy Scriptures, in a form, but not in the life nor spirit that gave them forth. And so they all lie in confusion, and are making provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof; but not to fulfil the law and command of Christ in his power and Spirit; for that, they say, they cannot do, but to fulfil the lusts of the flesh, that they can do with delight.

Now after I had received that opening from the Lord, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not sufficient to fit a man to be a minister of Christ, I regarded the priests less and looked more after the dissenting people. And among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had some openings. But as I had forsaken all the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. And when all my hopes in them and in all men was gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do, then, O! then I heard a voice which said, There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition. And when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord did let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give Him all the glory. For all are concluded under sin and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens and gives grace and faith and power. Thus, when God doth work, who shall let it? And this I knew experimentally. My desires

after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the Scriptures that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew Him not but by revelation, as He who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to his Son by his Spirit. And then the Lord did gently lead me along and did let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, and surpasses all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books. And that love did let me see myself as I was without Him. And I was afraid of all company; for I saw them perfectly where they were, through the love of God which let me see myself. And I had not fellowship with any people, priests, nor professors, nor any sort of separated people, but with Christ, who hath the key, and opened the door of light and life unto me. And I was afraid of all carnal talk and talkers; for I could see nothing but corruptions, and the life lay under the burden of corruptions. And when I myself was in the deep, under all shut up, I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrows, and my temptations were so great, that I thought many times I should have despaired, I was so tempted. But when Christ opened to me how He was tempted by the same devil, and had overcome him and bruised his head, and that through Him and his power, light, grace, and Spirit I should overcome also, I had confidence in Him. So He it was that opened to me when I was shut up, and had not hope nor faith. Christ it was who had enlightened me, that gave me his light to believe in, and gave me hope, which is himself, revealed himself in me, and gave me his Spirit and gave

me his grace, which I found sufficient in the deeps and in weakness. Thus in the deepest miseries and in the greatest sorrows and temptations that many times beset me, the Lord in his mercy did keep me. And I found that there were two thirsts in me—the one after the creatures, to have gotten help and strength there, and the other after the Lord the Creator and his Son Jesus Christ. And I saw all the world could do me no good. If I had had a king's diet, palace, and attendance, all would have been as nothing; for nothing gave me comfort but the Lord by his power. And I saw professors, priests, and people were whole and at ease in that condition, which was my misery; and they loved that which I would have been rid of. But the Lord did stay my desires upon himself, from whom my help came, and my care wast cast upon Him alone. Therefore all wait patiently upon the Lord whatsoever condition you be in; wait in the grace and truth that comes by Jesus; for if ye so do, there is a promise to you, and the Lord God will fulfil it in you. And blessed are all they indeed that do indeed hunger and thirst after righteousness; they shall be satisfied with it. I have found it so, praised be the Lord, who filleth with it and satisfieth the desires of the hungry soul. O let the house of the spiritual Israel say, His mercy endureth forever! It is the great love of God to make a wilderness of that which is pleasant to the outward eye and fleshly mind, and to make a fruitful field of a barren wilderness; this is the great work of God.

At another time I saw the great love of God, and I was filled with admiration at the infiniteness of it. And then I saw what was cast out from God, and what entered into God's kingdom; and how by Jesus, the opener of the door

by his heavenly key, the entrance was given. And I saw death, how it had passed upon all men, and oppressed the seed of God in man and in me; and how I in the seed came forth, and what the promise was to. Yet it was so with me, that there seemed to be two pleadings in me, and questionings arose in my mind about gifts and prophecies; and I was tempted again to despair, as if I had sinned against the Holy Ghost. And I was in great perplexity and trouble for many days, yet I gave up myself to the Lord still. And one day, when I had been walking solitarily abroad and was come home, I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of his love. And while I was in that condition, it was opened unto me by the eternal light and power, and I therein clearly saw, That all was done and to be done in and by Christ; and how He conquers and destroys this tempter, the devil, and all his works, and is atop of him; and that all these troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith which Christ had given me. And the Lord opened me, that I saw through all these troubles and temptations. My living faith was raised, that I saw all was done by Christ, the Life, and my belief was in Him. And when at any time my condition was vailed, my secret belief was stayed firm, and hope underneath held me as an anchor in the bottom of the sea, and anchored my immortal soul to its bishop, causing it to swim above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests, and temptations are. But oh! then did I see my troubles, trials, and temptations more than ever I had done. As the Light appeared, all appeared that is out of the Light—darkness, death, temptations, the un-

righteous, the ungodly,—all was manifest and seen in the Light. Then after this there did a pure fire appear in me; then I saw how He sate as a refiner's fire and as the fûller's soap. And then the spiritual discerning came into me, by which I did discern my own thoughts, groans, and sighs; and what it was that did vail me, and what it was that did open me. And that which could not abide in the patience nor endure the fire, in the Light I found to be the groans of the flesh, that could not give up to the will of God, which had vailed me. And I discerned the groans of the Spirit, which did open me, and made intercession to God. In which Spirit is the true waiting upon God for the redemption of the body and of the whole creation. The divine light of Christ manifesteth all things, and the spiritual fire trieth all things and severeth all things. John, who was the greatest prophet that was born of a woman, did bear witness to the Light with which Christ the great heavenly prophet hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, withal, that they might believe in it and become the children of light, and so have the light of life, and not come into condemnation. For the true belief stands in the Light that condemns all evil and the Devil, who is the prince of darkness, who would draw out of the Light into condemnation. And they that walk in this Light come to the mountain of the house of God, established above all mountains, and to God's teaching, who will teach them his ways. These things were opened to me in the Light.

Ye who know the love of God and the law of his Spirit and the freedom that is in Jesus Christ, stand fast in Him in that divine faith which He is the author of in you; and

be not entangled with the yoke of bondage. For the ministry of Christ Jesus and his teaching bringeth into liberty and freedom; but the ministry that is of man and by man and which stands in the will of man, bringeth into bondage and under the shadow of death and darkness. And therefore none can be a minister of Christ Jesus but in the eternal Spirit, which was before the Scriptures were given forth; for if they have not his Spirit, they are none of his. Though they may have his light to condemn them, that hate it, yet they can never bring any into unity and fellowship in the Spirit except they be in it. For the seed of God is a burthensome stone to the selfish, fleshly, earthly will, which reigns in its own knowledge and understanding that must perish, and in its wisdom that is devilish. And the Spirit of God is grieved and vexed and quenched with that which brings into the fleshly bondage; and that which wars against the Spirit of God must be mortified by it; for the flesh lusteth against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other. The flesh would have its liberty and the Spirit would have its liberty; but the Spirit is to have its liberty and not the flesh. If therefore ye quench the Spirit and join to the flesh and be servants of it, then ye are judged and tormented by the Spirit; but if ye join to the Spirit and serve God in it, ye have liberty, and victory over the flesh and its works. Therefore keep in the daily cross, the power of God, by which ye may witness all that to be crucified which is contrary to the will of God, and which shall not come into his kingdom. These things are here mentioned and opened for information, exhortation, and comfort to others, as the Lord opened them unto me in that

day. And in that day I wondered that the children of Israel should murmur for water and victuals; for I could have fasted long without murmuring or minding victuals. But I was judged sometimes that I was not contented to be sometimes without the water and bread of life, that I might learn to know how to want and how to abound.

And I heard of a woman in Lancashire that had fasted two and twenty days; and I travelled to see her, but when I came to her I saw that she was under a temptation. And when I had spoken to her what I had from the Lord, I left her, her father being one high in profession. And passing on, I went among the professors at Duckenfield and Manchester, where I stayed awhile and declared truth among them; and there were some convinced, who received the Lord's teaching, by which they were confirmed and stood in the truth. But the professors were in a rage, all pleading for sin and imperfection; and could not endure to hear talk of perfection and of an holy and sinless life.

About this time there was a great meeting of the Baptists at Broughton in Leicestershire with some that had separated from them; and people of other notions went thither, and I went thither also. Not many of the Baptists came, but abundance of other people were there. And the Lord opened my mouth, and his everlasting truth was declared amongst them; and the power of the Lord was over them all. And I went back into Nottinghamshire, and there the Lord showed me that the natures of those things which were hurtful without, were within, in the hearts and minds of wicked men. The natures of dogs, swine, vipers, of Sodom and Egypt, Pharaoh, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, etc. The natures of these I saw within, though people had been

looking without. And I cried to the Lord, saying, Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils? And the Lord answered That it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions; how else should I speak to all conditions? And in this I saw the infinite love of God. I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death; but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness. And in that also I saw the infinite love of God; and I had great openings. And as I was walking by the steeple-house side in the town of Mansfield, the Lord said unto me, That which people do trample upon must be thy food. And as the Lord spake, He opened it to me how that people and professors did trample upon the life; even the life of Christ was trampled upon; and they fed upon words and fed one another with words, but trampled upon the life; and trampled under foot the blood of the Son of God, which blood was my life; and they lived in their airy notions, talking of Him. It seemed strange to me at the first, that I should feed on that which the high professors trampled upon; but the Lord opened it clearly to me by his eternal Spirit and power.

Then came people from far and near to see me; and I was fearful of being drawn out by them; yet I was made to speak and open things to them. There was one Brown who had great prophecies and sights upon his death-bed of me. And he spake openly of what I should be made instrumental by the Lord to bring forth. And of others he spake that they should come to nothing, which was fulfilled on some that then were something in show. And when this man was buried, a great work of the Lord

fell upon me, to the admiration of many, who thought I had been dead; and many came to see me for about fourteen days' time; for I was very much altered in countenance and person, as if my body had been new moulded or changed. And while I was in that condition I had a sense and discerning given me by the Lord, through which I saw plainly, that when many people talked of God and of Christ, etc., the serpent spake in them; but this was hard to be born. Yet the work of the Lord went on in some, and my sorrows and troubles began to wear off and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart. And I saw into that which was without end and things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words. For I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through the power and over the power of Satan by the eternal, glorious power of Christ; even through that darkness was I brought which covered over all the world, and which chained down all and shut up all in the death. And the same eternal power of God which brought me through these things, was that which afterwards shook the nations, priests, professors, and people. Then could I say I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it and the power of it into the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it; and for this I mourned with tears. And a report went abroad of me

that I was a young man that had a discerning spirit; whereupon many came to me from far and near, professors, priests, and people; and the Lord's power brake forth; and I had great openings and prophecies, and spake unto them of the things of God, and they heard with attention and silence, and went away and spread the fame thereof. Then came the tempter and set upon me again, charging me that I had sinned against the Holy Ghost, but I could not tell in what. And then Paul's condition came before me, how, after he had been taken up into the third heavens and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him again. Thus by the power of Christ I got over that temptation also.

In the year 1648, as I was sitting in a friend's house in Nottinghamshire (for by this time the power of God had opened the hearts of some to receive the word of life and reconciliation), I saw there was a great crack to go throughout the earth and a great smoke to go as the crack went, and that after the crack there should be a great shaking; this was the earth in people's hearts which was to be shaken before the seed of God was raised out of the earth. And it was so; for the Lord's power began to shake them, and great meetings we began to have, and a mighty power and work of God there was amongst people, to the astonishment of both people and priests.

After this I went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of professors and people; and I was moved to pray. And the Lord's power was so great that the house seemed to be shaken. And when I had done, some of the professors said, It was now, as in the days of the apostles, when the house was shaken where they were. After I had

prayed, one of the professors would pray, which brought deadness and a vail over them; and others of the professors were grieved at him, and told him, It was a temptation upon him. Then he came to me, and desired that I would pray again; but I could not pray in man's will.

Soon after there was another great meeting of professors, and a captain, whose name was Amor Stoddard, came in; and they were discoursing of the blood of Christ. And as they were discoursing of it, I saw, through the immediate opening of the invisible Spirit, the blood of Christ. And I cried out among them, and said, Do ye not see the blood of Christ? See it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works, to serve the living God; for I saw it, the blood of the new covenant, how it came into the heart. This startled the professors, who would have the blood only without them, and not in them. But Captain Stoddard was reached, and said, Let the youth speak, hear the youth speak, when he saw they endeavoured to bear me down with many words.

Now, after I had had some service in these parts I went through Derbyshire into my own country, Leicestershire, again, and several tender people were convinced. And passing thence, I met with a great company of professors in Warwickshire, who were praying and expounding the Scriptures in the fields; and they gave the Bible to me, and I opened it on the fifth of Matthew, where Christ expounded the law; and I opened the inward state to them, and outward state; and they fell into a fierce contention, and so parted; but the Lord's power got ground.

Then I heard of a great meeting to be at Leicester, for a dispute, wherein both Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists,

and Common-Prayer men were said to be all concerned. The meeting was in a steeple-house, and thither I was moved by the Lord God to go and be amongst them. And I heard their discourse and reasonings, some being in pews, and the priest in the pulpit; abundance of people being gathered together. At last one woman asked a question, out of Peter, What that birth was, viz.: A being born again of incorruptible seed, by the word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever? And the priest said to her, I permit not a woman to speak in the church, though he had before given liberty for any to speak. Whereupon I was wrapt up, as in a rapture, in the Lord's power; and I stepped up in a place, and asked the priest, Dost thou call this place (the steeple-house) a church? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church? For the woman asking a question, he ought to have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak. But he did not answer me neither; but asked me, What a Church was? I told him, The Church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of; but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood. This set them all on fire. The priest came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred. But I went to a great inn, and there disputed the thing with the priests and professors of all sorts; and they were all on a fire. But I maintained the true Church, and the true Head thereof, over the heads of them all, till they all gave out and fled away.

After this I returned into Nottinghamshire again, and went into the Vale of Beavor. And as I went, I preached

repentance to the people; and there were many convinced in the Vale of Beavor, in many towns; for I stayed some weeks amongst them. And one morning, as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me; and I sate still. And it was said, All things come by nature; and the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it; but inasmuch as I sate still, and said nothing, the people of the house perceived nothing. And as I sate still under it, and let it alone, a living hope arose in me, and a true voice arose in me, which said, There is a living God, who made all things. And immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all, and my heart was glad, and I praised the living God. And after some time I met with some people that had such a notion, That there was no God, but that all things come by nature. And I had a great dispute with them, and overturned them; and made some of them confess that there was a living God. Then I saw that it was good that I had gone through that exercise. And we had great meetings in those parts, for the power of the Lord broke through in that side of the country. And in Darbyshire the mighty power of God wrought in a wonderful manner. And many mouths were opened in the power of the Lord God. And many were moved by the Lord to go to steeple-houses, to the priests and to the people, to declare the everlasting truth unto them.

And at a certain time, when I was at Mansfield, there was a sitting of the justices, about hiring of servants, and it was upon me from the Lord to go and speak to the justices that they should not oppress the servants in their wages.

So I walked towards the inn where they sate; but finding a company of fiddlers there, I did not go in, but thought to come in the morning, when I might have a more serious opportunity to discourse them, not thinking that a seasonable time. But when I came again in the morning, they were gone, and I was struck even blind, that I could not see. And I inquired of the innkeeper where the justices were to sit that day? And he told me, At a town eight miles off. And my sight began to come to me again; and I went, and ran thitherward, as fast as I could. And when I was come to the house where they were, and many servants with them, I exhorted the justices, Not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just to them; and I exhorted the servants to do their duties, and serve honestly, etc. And they all received my exhortation kindly; for I was moved of the Lord therein.

Moreover, I was moved to go to several courts and steeple-houses at Mansfield and other places, to warn them to leave off oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit, and to turn to the Lord and do justly. Particularly at Mansfield, after I had been at a court there, I was moved to go and speak to one of the wickedest men in the country, and I reproved him, in the dread of the mighty God, for his evil courses. And when I had done speaking, and left him, he came after me and told me, That he was so smitten, when I spake to him, that he had scarce any strength left in him. So this man was convinced, and turned from his wickedness, and remained an honest, sober man, to the astonishment of the people, who had known him before. Thus the work of the Lord went forward, and many were turned from the darkness to the light, within

the compass of these three years, 1646, 1647, and 1648. And divers meetings of Friends, in several places, were then gathered to God's teaching by his light, Spirit, and power; for the Lord's power brake forth daily more and more wonderfully.

Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword into the Paradise of God. All things were new; and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I say, I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was shewed me how all things had their names given them, according to their nature and virtue. And I was at a stand in my mind, whether I should practice physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit, to see into another or more steadfast state, than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall. And the Lord showed me that such as were faithful to Him in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation, and the virtues thereof may be known, through the openings of that Divine Word of wisdom and power by which they were made. Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me, beyond what can by words be declared; but as people come into subjection to the Spirit of God, and grow up in the image and power of the Almighty, they may receive the word of wisdom,

that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.

Now the Lord God hath opened to me by his invisible power how that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ; and I saw it shine through all, and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation and came to the light of life and became the children of it; but they that hated it and did not believe in it were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the pure openings of the light without the help of any man; neither did I then know where to find it in the Scriptures, though afterwards, searching the Scriptures, I found it. For I saw in that Light and Spirit which was before Scripture was given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth, that all must come to that spirit if they would know God or Christ or the Scriptures aright, which they that gave them forth were led and taught by.

And on a certain time as I was walking in the fields the Lord said unto me, Thy name is written in the Lamb's book of life, which was before the foundation of the world. And as the Lord spake it, I believed, and saw it in the new birth. Then sometime after the Lord commanded me to go abroad into the world, which was like a briary, thorny wilderness. And when I came in the Lord's mighty power with the word of life into the world, the world swelled and made a noise like the great raging waves of the sea. Priests and professors, magistrates and people were all like a sea, when I came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongst them and to preach repentance to them.

Now I was sent to turn people from darkness to the

light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for to as many as should receive Him in his light, I saw that He would give power to become the sons of God; which I had obtained by receiving Christ. And I was to direct people to the Spirit that gave forth the Scriptures, by which they might be led into all truth and so up to Christ and God, as they had been who gave them forth. And I was to turn them to the grace of God and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus; that by this grace they might be taught, which would bring them salvation, that their hearts might be established by it and their words might be seasoned, and all might come to know their salvation nigh. For I saw that Christ had died for all men and was a propitiation for all, and had enlightened all men and women with his divine and saving light, and that none could be a true believer but who believed in it. I saw that the grace of God, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man to profit withal. These things I did not see by the help of man nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter; but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ and by his immediate Spirit and power, as did the holy men of God by whom the Holy Scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the Holy Scriptures, but they were very precious to me; for I was in that spirit by which they were given forth, and what the Lord opened in me I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of these things and many volumes might be written, but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love, wisdom, and power of God in preparing, fitting, and furnishing me for the service He had

appointed me to; letting me see the depth of Satan, on the one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine mysteries of his own everlasting kingdom.

Now when the Lord God and his Son Jesus Christ did send me forth into the world to preach his everlasting gospel and kingdom, I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to that inward light, spirit, and grace by which all might know their salvation and their way to God, even that Divine Spirit which would lead them into all truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any.

But with and by this divine power and Spirit of God and the light of Jesus, I was to bring people off from all their own ways to Christ, the new and living way; and from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the church in God, the general assembly written in heaven, which Christ is the head of; and off from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, of whom the Father said, This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him; and off from all the world's worships to know the Spirit of truth in the inward parts and to be led thereby; that in it they might worship the Father of spirits, who seeks such to worship Him; which Spirit they that worshipped not in, knew not what they worshipped. And I was to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are in vain, that they might know the pure religion, and might visit the fatherless, the widows, and the strangers, and keep themselves from the spots of the world; and then there would not be so many beggars, the sight of whom often grieved my heart, to see so much hard-heartedness amongst them that professed the name of Christ. And I was to bring them off from all the

world's fellowships and prayings and singings, which stood in forms without power, that their fellowships might be in the Holy Ghost and in the eternal Spirit of God; that they might pray in the Holy Ghost and sing in the Spirit and with the grace that comes by Jesus, making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who hath sent his beloved Son to be their Saviour, and caused his heavenly sun to shine upon all the world and through them all, and his heavenly rain to fall upon the just and the unjust, as his outward rain doth fall and his outward sun doth shine on all, which is God's unspeakable love to the world. And I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, and from heathenish fables, and from men's inventions and windy doctrines, by which they blowed the people about this way and the other way, from sect to sect; and all their beggarly rudiments, with their schools and colleges for making ministers of Christ, who are indeed ministers of their own making, but not of Christ's. And all their images and crosses and sprinkling of infants, with all their holy days, so called, and all their vain traditions which they had gotten up since the apostles' days, which the Lord's power was against; and in the dread and authority thereof was I moved to declare against them all; and against all that preached, and not freely, as being such as had not received freely from Christ.

Moreover, when the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low. And I was required to thee and thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down I was not to bid people good-morrow or good-evening, neither might I bow or scrape

with my leg to any one; and this made the sects and professions to rage. But the Lord's power carried me over all to his glory, and many came to be turned to God in a little time; for the heavenly day of the Lord sprang from on high and brake forth apace, by the light of which many came to see where they were.

But, oh! the rage that then was in the priests, magistrates, professors, and people of all sorts, but especially in priests and professors; for though thou to a single person was according to their own learning, their accidence, and grammar rules, and according to the Bible, yet they could not bear to hear it; and the hat-honour, because I could not put off my hat to them, it set them all into a rage. But the Lord showed me that it was an honour below, which He would lay in the dust and stain it—an honour which proud flesh looked for, but sought not the honour which came from God only. That it was an honour invented by men in the fall and in the alienation from God, who were offended if it were not given them, and yet would be looked upon themselves as saints, church-members, and great Christians; but Christ saith, How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only? And I, saith Christ, receive not honour of men. Showing that men have an honour which men will receive and give, but Christ will have none of it. This is the honour which Christ will not receive and which must be laid in the dust. Oh! the rage and scorn, the heat and fury that arose! Oh! the blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent for not putting off our hats to men! for that soon tried all men's patience and sobriety, what it was.

About this time I was sorely exercised in going to their courts to cry for justice, and in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly; and in warning such as kept public houses for entertainment that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good; and in testifying against their wakes or feasts, their May-games, sports, plays and shows, which trained up people to vanity and looseness, and led them from the fear of God. And the days they had set forth for holy days were usually the times they most dishonoured God by these things. In fairs, also, and in markets I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandise and cheating and cozening, warning all to deal justly, and to speak the truth, and to let their yea be yea and their nay be nay, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; and forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord which would come upon them all. I was moved also to cry against all sorts of music, and against the mountebanks playing tricks on their stages; for they burdened the pure life, and stirred up peoples' minds to vanity. I was much exercised, too, with school-masters and school-mistresses, warning them to teach their children sobriety in the fear of the Lord; that they might not be nursed and trained up in lightness, vanity, and wantonness. Likewise I was made to warn masters and mistresses, fathers and mothers in private families to take care that their children and servants might be trained up in the fear of the Lord; and that they themselves should be therein examples and patterns of sobriety and virtue to them. For I saw, that as the Jews were to teach their children the law of God and the old covenant, and to train them up in it and their servants, yea the very

strangers were to keep the Sabbath amongst them, and be circumcised before they might eat of their sacrifices; so all Christians and all that made a profession of Christianity ought to train up their children and servants in the new covenant of light, Christ Jesus, who is God's salvation to the ends of the earth; that all may know their salvation. And they ought to train them up in the law of life, the law of the Spirit, the law of love and of faith; that they might be made free from the law of sin and death.

But the black, earthly spirit of the priest wounded my life, and when I heard the bell toll to call people together to the steeple-house, it struck at my life; for it was just like a market-bell to gather people together that the priest might set forth his ware to sale. O the vast sums of money that are gotten by the trade they make of selling the Scriptures and by their preaching, from the highest bishop to the lowest priest! What one trade else in the world is comparable to it? Notwithstanding that the Scriptures were given forth freely, and Christ commanded his ministers to preach freely, and the prophets and apostles denounced judgment against all covetous hirelings and diviners for money. But in this free Spirit of the Lord Jesus was I sent forth to declare the word of life and reconciliation freely; that all might come up to Christ, who gives freely and who renews up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell; that they might sit down in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

Now as I went towards Nottingham on a First day in the morning with friends, to a meeting there, when I came on top of a hill in sight of the town I espied the great

steeple-house: and the Lord said unto me, Thou must go cry against yonder great idol and against the worshippers therein. So I said nothing of this to the friends that were with me, but went on with them to the meeting, where the mighty power of the Lord God was amongst us, in which I left friends sitting in the meeting, and I went away to the steeple-house. And when I came there all the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest, like a great lump of earth, stood in his pulpit above; and he took for his text these words of Peter: We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts. And he told the people that this was the Scriptures by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me and so strong in me that I could not hold; but was made to cry out and say, Oh, no, it is not the Scriptures. But I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. For the Jews had the Scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost and rejected Christ, the bright morning star, and persecuted Christ and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried without the Holy Ghost. Now, as I spake thus amongst them, the officers came and took me away and put me into a nasty, stinking prison, the smell whereof got so into my nose and throat that it very much annoyed me.

But that day the Lord's power sounded so in their ears that they were amazed at the voice, and could not get it out of their ears for some time after; they were so reached by the Lord's power in the steeple-house.

Now, after I was set at liberty from Nottingham jail, (where I had been kept prisoner a pretty long time,) I travelled, as before, in the work of the Lord. And coming to Mansfield-Woodhouse, there was a distracted woman under a doctor's hand, with her hair loose all about her ears; and he was about to let her blood, she being first bound, and many people being about her, holding her by violence. But he could get no blood from her. And I desired them to unbind her and let her alone, for they could not touch the spirit in her, by which she was tormented. So they did unbind her. And I was moved to speak to her, and in the name of the Lord to bid her be quiet and still. And she was so. And the Lord's power settled her mind, and she mended; and afterwards received the truth and continued in it to her death. And the Lord's name was honoured, to whom the glory of all his works belongs. Many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power in those days; for the Lord made bare his omnipotent arm, and manifested his power to the astonishment of many, by the healing virtue whereof many have been delivered from great infirmities, and the devils were made subject through his name; of which particular instances might be given, beyond what this unbelieving age is able to receive or bear. But blessed forever be the name of the Lord, and everlastingly honoured, and over all exalted; and magnified be the arm of his glorious

power by which He hath wrought gloriously, and let the honour and praise of all his works be ascribed to Him alone.

Now while I was at Mansfield-Woodhouse I was moved to go to the steeple-house there, and declare the truth to the priest and people. But the people fell upon me in great rage, and struck me down and almost stifled and smothered me, and I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with their hands, Bibles, and sticks.

I heard of a people that were in prison in Coventry for religion. And as I walked towards the jail, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love. And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the jail where those prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me; and I sate still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, and vapour, and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said they were God. After I had reproven them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away, for I perceived they were Ranters, and I had met with none before. And I admired the goodness of the Lord in appearing so unto me before I went amongst them.

Coming to Darby, I lay at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced, and so were several more in the town. And as I was walking in my chamber the bell rung, and it struck at my life at the very hearing of it. So I asked the woman of the house, What the bell rung for? And she said, There was to be a great lecture there that day, and many of the officers of the army, and priests and preachers were to be

there that day, and a colonel that was a preacher. Then was I moved of the Lord to go up to them; and when they had done, I spake to them what the Lord commanded me, and they were pretty quite. But there came an officer and took me by the hand, and said I must go before the magistrates, and the other two that were with me. It was about the first hour afternoon that we came before them. They asked me why we came thither? I said, God moved us so to do; and I told them, God dwells not in temples made with hands. I told them also, All their preaching, baptism, and sacrifices would never sanctify them; and bid them look unto Christ in them, and not unto men, for it is Christ that sanctifies. Then they ran into many words, but I told them they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey him. And the power of God thundered amongst them and they did fly like chaff before it. They put me in and out of the room often, hurrying me backward and forward often, for they were from the first hour till the ninth at night in examining me. And sometimes they would tell me in a deriding manner that I was taken up in raptures. At last they asked me whether I was sanctified? I answered, Yes, for I was in the paradise of God. Then they asked me if I had no sin? I answered, Christ my Saviour has taken away my sin, and in Him there is no sin. They asked how we knew that Christ did abide in us? I said, By his Spirit that He hath given us. They temptingly asked if any of us were Christ? I answered, Nay, we were nothing; Christ was all. They said, If a man steal, is it no sin? I answered, All unrighteousness is sin. So when they had wearied themselves in examining me, they committed me and one

other man to the house of correction in Darby for six months, as blasphemers.

Now while I was there in prison, divers of the professors came unto me to discourse with me; and I had a sense, before they spake, that they came to plead for sin and imperfection. And I asked them whether they were believers and had faith? And they said, Yes. Then I asked them in whom? And they said in Christ. Then I replied, If ye are true believers in Christ, you are passed from death to life, and if passed from death, then from sin that bringeth death. And if your faith be true, it will give you victory over sin and the devil, and purify your hearts and consciences, (for the true faith is held in a pure conscience,) and it will bring you to please God and give you access to Him again. But they could not endure to hear of purity and of victory over sin and the devil; for they said they could not believe that any could be free from sin on this side the grave. Then I bid them give over babbling about the Scriptures, which were holy men's words, whilst they pleaded for unholiness. And at another time another company of professors came, and they also began to plead for sin. And I asked them whether they had hope? And they said, Yes; God forbid but we should have hope. Then I asked them, What hope is it that you have? is Christ in you the hope of your glory? doth it purify you as He is pure? But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here.

I writ a paper much about the same time, and sent it forth amongst the convinced people, as followeth:—

"The Lord is king over all the earth! Therefore all people praise and glorify your king in the true obedience,

in the uprightness, and in the beauty of holiness. O consider, in the true obedience the Lord is known and an understanding from Him is received. Mark and consider in silence, in the lowliness of mind, and thou wilt hear the Lord speak unto thee in thy mind; his voice is sweet and pleasant; his sheep hear his voice, and they will not hearken to another; and when they hear his voice they rejoice, and are obedient, they also sing for joy. Oh, their hearts are filled with everlasting triumph! They sing and praise the eternal God in Sion. Their joy shall never man take from them. Glory to the Lord God for evermore!"

But many that had been convinced of the truth turned aside because of the persecution that arose; whereupon I writ a few lines for the comfort and encouragement of the faithful, thus:—

"Come, ye blessed of the Lord, and rejoice together. Keep in unity and oneness of spirit. Triumph above the world. Be joyful in the Lord, reigning above the world and above all things that draw from the Lord; that in clearness, righteousness, pureness, and joy you may be preserved to the Lord. O hear, O hearken to the call of the Lord, and come out of the world and keep out of it for evermore. And come sing together, ye righteous ones, the song of the Lord, the song of the Lamb, which none can learn but they who are redeemed from the earth and from the world."

Now while I was in the house of correction, my relations came to see me, and, being troubled for my imprisonment, they went to the justices that cast me into prison and desired to have me home with them, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others of Darby in fifty pounds

apiece with them, that I should come no more thither to declare against the priests. So I was had up before the justices, and because I would not consent that they or any should be bound for me (for I was innocent from any ill behaviour, and had spoken the word of life and truth unto them), justice Bennet rose up in a rage: and as I was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, he ran upon me and struck me with both his hands, crying, Away with him, jailer; take him away, jailer. Whereupon I was had back again to prison, and there kept until the time of my commitment for six months was expired. But I had now the liberty of walking a mile by myself, which I made use of, as I felt freedom. And sometimes I went into the market and streets and warned the people to repent of their wickedness, and so returned to prison again. And there being persons of several sorts of religion in the prison, I sometimes went and visited them in their meetings on the First days.

Now the time of my commitment to the house of correction being very near out, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and the soldiers cried, They would have none but me. So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring me up before the commissioners and soldiers in the market-place, and there they proffered me that preferment (as they called it), asking me if I would not take up arms for the commonwealth against Charles Stewart? I told them, I knew from whence all wars did arise, even from the lust, according to James his doctrine, and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars. But they courted me

to accept of their offer, and thought I did but compliment with them. But I told them, I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes were. They said they offered it in love and kindness to me because of my virtue; and such like flattering words they used. But I told them, If that was their love and kindness, I trampled it under my feet. Then their rage got up and they said, Take him away, jailer, and put him into the prison amongst the rogues and felons. So I was had away and put into a lousy, stinking place, without any bed, amongst thirty felons, where I was kept almost a half a year, unless it were at times; for they would sometimes let me walk in the garden, having a belief of me that I would not go away. Now, when they had gotten me into Darby prison, it was the belief and saying of people that I should never come out; but I had faith in God, and believed I should be delivered in his time, for the Lord had said to me before, That I was not to be removed from that place yet, being set there for a service which He had for me to do.

After it was bruited abroad that I was in Darby prison, my relations came to see me again, and they were much troubled that I should be in prison, for they looked upon it to be a great shame to them for me to lie in jail. It was a strange thing then to be imprisoned for religion, and some thought I was mad because I stood for purity and righteousness and perfection.

Among others that came to see me and discourse with me, there came a certain person from Nottingham, a soldier, and that had been a Baptist, as I understood, and with him came several others. And in discourse this person said to me, Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem,

and there was never any such thing. I was exceedingly grieved to hear him say so, and I said to him, How! Did not Christ suffer without the gates of Jerusalem, through the professing Jews, and chief priests, and Pilate? And he denied that ever Christ suffered there outwardly. Then I asked him, Whether there were not chief priests, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly? And when he could not deny that, then I told him, As certainly as there was a chief priest, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly, so certainly was Christ persecuted by them, and did suffer there outwardly under them. Yet from this man's words was a slander raised upon us, that the Quakers should deny Christ, that suffered and died at Jerusalem; which was all utterly false, and the least thought of it never entered our hearts, but it was a mere slander cast upon us, and occasioned by this person's words.

In this time of my imprisonment, I was exceedingly exercised about the proceedings of the judges and magistrates in their courts of judicature, and I was moved to write to the judges concerning their putting men to death for cattle, and money, and small matters. Moreover, I laid before the judges what a hurtful thing it was that prisoners should lie so long in jail, showing how that they learned badness, one of another, in talking of their bad deeds, and therefore speedy justice should be done. For I was a tender youth, and dwelt in the fear of God, and I was grieved to hear their bad language, and was often made to reprove them for their wicked words and evil carriage towards each other. And people did admire that I was so preserved and kept, for they could never catch a word or action from me, to make anything of against me, all the time that I was there;

for the Lord's infinite power upheld and preserved me all that time; to Him be praises and glory forever.

Now, while I was here in prison, there was a young woman in the jail for robbing her master of some money; and when she was to be tried for her life, I writ to the judge and to the jury about her, showing them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time to put people to death for stealing, and moving them to show mercy. Yet she was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her, and at the time appointed she was carried forth to execution. Then I writ a few words, warning all people to beware of greediness or covetousness, for it leads from God, but that all should fear the Lord, and avoid all earthly lusts, and prize their time while they have it. This I gave to be read at the gallows. And though they had her upon the ladder, with a cloth bound over her face, ready to be turned off, yet they did not put her to death, but brought her back again to prison; and in the prison she afterwards came to be convinced of God's everlasting truth.

I went into a steeple-house near Beverly, and stayed till the priest had done. (Now the words which he took for his text were these: Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.) Then was I moved of the Lord God to say unto him: Come down, thou deceiver; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them for preaching the Scriptures to them? Mayest not thou blush for shame? Did the prophet Isaiah and Christ do so, who spake the words, and gave them forth freely? Did

not Christ say to his ministers, whom He sent to preach, Freely ye have received, freely give? So the priest, like a man amazed, hastened away. And after he was gone, and had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire, to speak to the people. And I directed them from the darkness to the light, and to the grace of God, that would teach them and bring them salvation, and to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher unto them.

I came into York, where were several people that were very tender. And upon the first day of the week following, I was commanded of the Lord to go to the great Minster and speak to priest Bowles and his hearers in their great Cathedral. Accordingly I went; and when the priest had done, I told them I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. Then say on quickly, said a professor that was among them; for it was frost and snow, and very cold weather. Then I told them this was the word of the Lord God unto them: that they lived in words, but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them. As soon as the words were out of my mouth, they hurried me out and threw me down the steps; but I got up again, without hurt, and went to my lodging again. And several were convinced there. For the very groans that arose from the weight and oppression that was upon the Spirit of God in me would open people and strike them, and make them confess that the groans which brake forth through me did reach them. For my life was burthened with their profession without possession, and words without fruit.

I passed to Cleveland amongst those people that had tasted of the power of God. They had formerly had great

meetings, but were then all shattered to pieces, and the heads of them turned Ranters. I told them, That after they had had such meetings they did not wait upon God to feel his power, to gather their minds inward that they might feel his presence and power amongst them in their meetings, to sit down therein and wait upon Him; for they had spoken themselves dry, they had spent their portions, and not living in that which they spake of they were now become dry. They had some kind of meetings still, but they took tobacco and drank ale in their meetings, and were grown light and loose. But my message unto them from the Lord was that they should all come together again and wait to feel the Lord's power and Spirit in themselves to gather them to Christ, that they might be taught of Him, who says, Learn of me. For the Lord renews his mercies and his strength to them that wait upon Him. The heads of these people came to nothing; but most of the people came to be convinced, and received God's everlasting truth, and continue a meeting to this day, sitting under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their Saviour.

Though at this time the snow was very deep, yet I kept travelling, and going through the country came to a market-town, where I met with many professors, with whom I had much reasoning, and I asked them many questions which they were not able to answer, but said they had never had such deep questions put to them in all their lives. From them I went to another place called Stath, where also I met with many professors and some Ranters. The priest of this town was a lofty priest, and did much oppress the people for his tithes; for if they

went a-fishing many leagues off, he would make them pay the tithe-money of what they made of their fish, though they catched them at a great distance and carried them as far as Yarmouth to sell. Now I was moved to go to the steeple-house there to declare the truth and lay open the priest. And when I had spoken to the priest and laid his oppressing of the people upon him he fled away.

The truth began to spread up and down that country, and great meetings we had, at which the priest began to rage and the Ranters began to be stirred; and they sent me word that they would have a dispute with me, both the oppressing priest and the leader of the Ranters. When we were settled, the Ranter, whose name was T. Bushel, told me he had had a vision of me, that I was sitting in a great chair, and that he was to come and put off his hat and bow down to the ground before me, and he did so; and many other flattering words he spake. I told him it was his own figure, and said unto him, Repent, thou beast. He said it was jealousy in me to say so. Then I asked him the ground of jealousy, and how it came to be bred in man? and the nature of a beast, what made it? and how that was bred in man? For I saw him directly in that nature of the beast, and therefore I would have known of him how that nature came to be bred in him? I told him he should give me an account of things done in the body before we came to discourse of things done out of the body. Then I had a good opportunity with the people, and I laid open the Ranters, ranking them with the old Ranters in Sodom. And the priests I manifested to be of the same stamp with their fellow hirelings, the false prophets of old and the priests that then bore rule over the people by their

means, seeking for their gain from their quarter, divining for money and teaching for filthy lucre. And so I brought all the prophets and Christ and the apostles over the heads of the priests, showing how the prophets, Christ, and the apostles had long since discovered them by their marks and fruits. Then I directed people to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus their Saviour, and I preached up Christ in the hearts of his people when all these mountains were laid low.

Then another priest sent to have a dispute with me, and friends went with me to the house where he was; but when he understood we were come he slipt out of the house and hid himself under an hedge. The people went to seek him, and found him; but could not get him to come to us. Then I went to a steeple-house hard by there, where the priest and people were in a great rage. This priest had threatened friends what he would do, but when I came there he would not stand, but fled; for the Lord's power came over him and them. Yea, the Lord's everlasting power was over the world, and did reach to the hearts of people, and made both priests and professors tremble. It shook the earthly and airy spirit in which they held their profession of religion and worship, so that it was a dreadful thing unto them when it was told them, The man in leathern breeches is come. At the hearing thereof the priests in many places would get out of the way, they were so struck with the dread of the eternal power of God; and fear surprised the hypocrites.

At Malton one of the priests writ to me and invited me to preach in his steeple-house, calling me his brother; another priest, a noted man, kept a lecture there. Now

the Lord had showed me while I was in Darby prison that I should speak in steeple-houses to gather people from thence, and a concern sometimes would come upon my mind about the pulpits that the priests lolled in. For the steeple-houses and pulpits were offensive to my mind because both priests and people called them the house of God and idolized them, reckoning that God dwelt there, in the outward house; whereas they should have looked for God and Christ to dwell in their hearts, and their bodies to be made the temples of God; for the apostle said, God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. But by reason of the peoples idolizing those places it was counted an heinous thing to declare against them. Now when I came into the steeple-house there were not passing eleven hearers, and the priest was preaching to them. But after it was known in the town that I was in the steeple-house it was soon filled with people. When the priest that preached that day had done, he sent the other priest that had invited me thither to bring me up into the pulpit; but I sent back word to him that I needed not to go into the pulpit. Then he sent to me again desiring me to go up into it; for he said it was a better place, and there I might be seen of the people. I sent him word again I could be seen and heard well enough where I was; and that I came not there to hold up such places nor their maintenance and trade. Upon my saying so, they began to be angry, and said, These false prophets were to come in the last times. Their saying so grieved many of the people, and some began to murmur at it. Whereupon I stood up, and desired all to be quiet; and stepping upon an high seat, I declared unto them the marks of the false prophets, and showed that they were

already come; and set the true prophets and Christ and his apostles over them; and manifested these to be out of these steps of the true prophets and of Christ and his apostles. And I directed the people to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus, who would turn them from the darkness to the light. And having opened divers Scriptures to them, I directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might come to Him, and by which they might also come to know who the false prophets were. So having had a large time among them, I departed in peace.

After some time, travelling in the country, I came to Pickering, where in the steeple-house the justices held their sessions, justice Robinson being chairman. And I had a meeting in the school-house at the same time, and abundance of priests and professors came to it, asking questions which were answered to their satisfaction. And it being sessions-time, four chief-constables and many other people were convinced that day. And word was carried to justice Robinson, that his priest was overthrown and convinced whom he had a love to more than to all the priests besides. After the meeting was done we went to an inn, and justice Robinson's priest was very lowly and loving, and would have paid for my dinner, but I would by no means suffer it. Then he offered that I should have his steeple-house to preach in, but I denied it, and told him and the people that I came to bring them off from such things to Christ.

The next morning I went up with the four chief-constables and some others to visit justice Robinson, who met me at his chamber-door. I told him I could not honour him

with man's honour, and he said he did not look for it. So I went into his chamber and opened to him the state of the false prophets and of the true prophets, and set the true prophets and Christ and the apostles over the other; and directed his mind to Christ, his teacher; and opened to him the parables, and how election and reprobation stood, as that reprobation stood in the first birth and election stood in the second birth. I showed also what the promise of God was to, and what the judgment of God was against. He confessed to it all, and was so opened with the truth that when another justice that was present made some little opposition, he informed him. At our parting he said, It was very well that I did exercise that gift which God had given me. And he took the chief-constables aside, and would have given them some money to have given me, saying, He would not have me at any charge in their country, but they told him that they themselves could not get me to take any money; and so, accepting his kindness, refused his money.

From thence I passed up into the country, and the priest that called me brother, in whose school-house I had the meeting at Pickering, went along with me. When we came into a town to bait, the bells rang, whereupon I asked what the bells rang for? And they said, For me to preach in the steeple-house. After some time I felt drawings that way, and as I walked to the steeple-house I saw the people were gathered together in the steeple-house yard. The old priest would have had me gone into the steeple-house, but I said, Nay, it was no matter. But it was something strange to the people that I would not go into that which they called the house of God. Then I stood up in the steeple-house yard and declared to the people, That I came not

to hold up their idol-temples, nor their priests, nor their tithes, nor their augmentations, nor their priest wages, nor their Jewish and heathenish ceremonies and traditions (for I denied all these), and told them that that piece of ground was no more holy than another piece of ground. And I showed them that the apostles going into the Jews' synagogues and temples, which God had commanded, was to bring people off from that temple and those synagogues, and from the offerings and tithes and covetous priests of that time. And that such as came to be convinced of the truth and converted to it and believed in Jesus Christ whom the apostles preached, they met together afterwards in dwelling-houses. And that all who preach Christ, the word of life, ought to preach freely as the apostles did, and as He had commanded. So I was sent of the Lord God of heaven and earth to preach freely, and to bring people off from these outward temples made with hands, which God dwelleth not in; that they might know their bodies to become the temples of God and of Christ. Therefore I exhorted the people to come off from all these things, and directed them to the Spirit and grace of God in themselves and to the light of Jesus in their own hearts; that they might come to know Christ their free teacher, to bring them salvation and to open the Scriptures to them. Thus the Lord gave me a good opportunity amongst them to open things largely unto them; and all was quiet and many were convinced, blessed be the Lord.

I passed on to another town where there was another great meeting, and the old priest before mentioned went along with me, and there came professors of several sorts to it. Now I sate on a hay-stack and spake nothing for

some hours; for I was to famish them from words. And the professors would ever and anon be speaking to the old priest and asking him When I would begin? and When I would speak? And he bade them wait, and told them, That the people waited upon Christ a long while before He spake. At last I was moved of the Lord to speak; and they were struck by the Lord's power, and the word of life reached to them, and there was a general convincement amongst them.

Friends and friendly people having left me, I travelled alone, declaring the day of the Lord amongst the people in the towns where I came, and warning them to repent. And as I travelled, one day, I came towards night into a town called Patrington, and as I walked along the town I warned both priest and people (for the priest was in the street) to repent and turn to the Lord. Now it grew dark before I came to the end of the town; and a multitude of people gathered about me and I declared the word of life unto them.

And when I had cleared myself, I went to an inn and desired them to let me have a lodging, but they would not. Then I desired them to let me have a little meat or milk and I would pay them for it, but they would not. So I walked out of the town, and a company of fellows followed me and asked me, What news? And I bid them repent and fear the Lord. After I was gone a pretty way out of the town, I came to another house, and I desired the people of that house to let me have a little meat and drink and lodging for my money, but they would not neither, but denied me. Then I went to another house and desired the same, but they refused me also. By this time it was grown

so dark that I could not see the highway, but I discerned a ditch and got a little water and refreshed myself. Then I got over the ditch, and being weary with travelling I sate down amongst the furz-bushes till it was day. About break of day I got up and passed on the fields, and a man came after me with a great pike-staff and went along with me to a town; and he raised the town upon me, with the constable and chief-constable, before the sun was up. So I declared God's everlasting truth amongst them, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness, and exhorted them to repent. But they seized on me and had me back again to Patrington, about three miles, guarding me with watch-bills and pikes and staves and halberds. Now when I was come back to Patrington all the town was in an uproar, and the priests and constables were consulting together. So I had another opportunity to declare the word of life amongst them and warn them to repent. At last a professor, a tender man, called me into his house, and there I took a little milk and bread, having not eaten for some days before. Then they guarded me about nine miles to a justice, who set me at liberty. Then I went back to Patrington again with a man that had ridden before me to the justice, for he lived at Patrington. When I came there, he would have had me had a meeting at the cross; but I said it was no matter, his house would serve. Then he desired me to go to bed or lie down upon a bed; which he did that they might say they had seen me in a bed or upon a bed; for they had got up a report that I would not lie on any bed, because at that time I lay many times without doors. Now when the first day of the week was come, I went to the steeple-

house and declared the truth to the priest and people; and the people did not molest me, for the power of God was come over them. Then presently after, I had a great meeting at that man's house where I lay, and many that day were convinced there of the Lord's everlasting truth, who stand faithful witnesses for it to this day. And they were exceeding sorry and grieved that they did not receive me nor give me a lodging when I was there before.

From hence I travelled through the country even to the furthest part thereof, warning people both in towns and country villages to repent, and directing them to Christ Jesus their teacher.

At one meeting where I was there came a great man and a priest and many professors; but the Lord's power came over them all, and they went their ways peaceably. And there came a man to that meeting who had been at a meeting before, and he raised a false accusation against me, and made a noise up and down the country, reporting that I said I was Christ, which was utterly false. And when I came to Gainsborough, where a Friend had been declaring truth in the market, the town and market-people were all in an uproar. So I went into a friendly man's house, and the people rushed in after me, so that the house was filled with professors and disputers and rude people. And this false accuser came in before them all and accused me openly before the people, That I said I was Christ, and he had got witnesses to prove the same; which set the people in such a rage that they had much ado to keep their hands off me. Then I was moved of the Lord God to stand up upon the table in the eternal power of God, and tell the people, That Christ was in them, except they were repro-

bates; and that it was Christ, the eternal power of God, that spake in me at that time unto them; not that I was Christ. And the people were generally satisfied, except himself and a professor and his own false witnesses. And I called the accuser Judas, and was moved to tell him that he was Judas, and Judas his end should be his; and that that was the word of the Lord and of Christ through me to him. So the Lord's power came over all and quieted the minds of the people, and they departed in peace. But this Judas went away and shortly after hanged himself, and a stake was driven into his grave.

After this I passed in the Lord's power into Yorkshire and came to Warnsworth, and went to the steeple-house in the forenoon, but they shut the door against me; yet after awhile they let in Thomas Aldam, and then shut it again, and the priest fell upon him asking him questions. At last they opened the door and I went in; and as soon as I was come in the priest's sight he left preaching, though I said nothing to him; for he was in a great maze, and asked me, What have you to say? and presently cried out, Come, come, I will prove them false prophets in Matthew. But he was so confounded he could not find the chapter. Then he fell on me asking me many questions; and I stood still all this while, not saying anything amongst them. At last I said, Seeing here are so many questions asked, I may answer them. But as soon as I began to speak, the people violently rushed upon me and thrust me out of the steeple-house again and locked the door on me. And as soon as they had done their service and were come forth, the people ran upon me and knocked me sorely with their staves, threw clods and stones at me, and abused me much. The

priest also being in a great rage laid violent hands on me himself. But I warned them and him of the terrible day of the Lord, and exhorted them to repent and turn to Christ. And being filled with the Lord's refreshing power, I was not sensible of much hurt I had received by their blows.

On a First day I went to Tickhill, whither the friends of that side gathered together, and there was a meeting; and a mighty brokenness by the power of God there was amongst the people. I went out of the meeting, being moved of God to go to the steeple-house. And when I came there I found the priest and most of the chief of the parish together in the chancel. So I went up to them and began to speak, but they immediately fell upon me; and the clark up with his Bible as I was speaking and struck me on the face with it so that my face gushed out with blood, and I bled exceedingly in the steeple-house. Then the people cried out, Let us have him out of the church. And when they had got me out they beat me exceedingly, and threw me down and threw me over an hedge; and afterwards dragged me through an house into the street, stoning and beating me as they dragged me along, so that I was all over besmeared with blood and dirt. And they got my hat from me, which I never got again. Yet when I was got upon my legs again I declared to them the word of life, and showed them the fruits of their teacher, and how they dishonoured Christianity. So after awhile I got into the meeting again amongst friends; and the priest and people coming by the house, I went forth with friends into the yard, and there I spake to the priest and people, and the priest scoffed at us and called us Quakers. But the

Lord's power was so over them, and the word of life was declared in such authority and dread to them, that the priest fell a trembling himself; and one of the people said, Look how the priest trembles and shakes; he is turned a Quaker also.

In the beginning of the year 1652, great rage got up in priests and people and in some of the magistrates in the West Riding of Yorkshire, against the truth and against friends, insomuch that the priest of Warnsworth procured a warrant from the justices against me and Thomas Aldam, which was to be executed in any part of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The Lord had said unto me, If but one man or woman were raised up by his power to stand and live in the same spirit that the prophets and apostles were in who gave forth the Scriptures, that man or woman should shake all the country in their profession for ten miles round. For people had the Scriptures, but were not in the same light and power and Spirit which they were in that gave forth the Scriptures; and so they neither knew God nor Christ nor the Scriptures aright, nor had they unity one with another, being out of the power and spirit of God. Therefore as we passed along, we warned all people wherever we met them, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

As we travelled on we came near a very great and high hill called Pendle-hill, and I was moved of the Lord to go up to the top of it, which I did with much ado, it was so very steep and high. When I was come to the top of this hill I saw the sea bordering upon Lancashire. And from the top of this hill the Lord let me see in what places He had a great people to be gathered. As I went down I

found a spring of water in the side of the hill, with which I refreshed myself, having eaten or drunk but little several days before.

At night we came to an inn, and declared truth to the man of the house, and writ a paper to the priests and professors, declaring the day of the Lord, and that Christ was come to teach his people himself by his power and Spirit in their hearts, and to bring people off from all the world's ways and teachers to his own free teaching, who had bought them and was the Saviour of all them that believed in Him. The man of the house spread the paper abroad, and was himself mightily affected with the truth. Here the Lord opened unto me and let me see a great people in white raiment by a river-side coming to the Lord, and the place that I saw them in was about Wéntzerdale and Sedburgh.

As thus I travelled on through the Dales, I went to a meeting at justice Benson's, where met a people that were separated from the public worship. This was the place that I had seen where a people came forth in white raiment. A large meeting it was, and the people were generally convinced and continue a large meeting still of Friends near Sedburgh, which was then first gathered through my ministry in the name of Jesus.

In the same week there was a great fair, at which servants used to be hired. And I went and declared the day of the Lord through the fair. And after I had done so I went into the steeple-house yard, and many of the people of the fair came thither to me and abundance of priests and professors. There I declared the everlasting truth of the Lord and the word of life for several hours; show-

ing that the Lord was come to teach his people himself and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers to Christ the true teacher and the true way to God. Not one of the priests had power to open his mouth against what I declared. But at last a captain said, Why will you not go into the church? for this is not a fit place to preach in, said he. But I told him I denied their church. Then stood up one Francis Howgill, who was a preacher to a congregation. He had not seen me before, yet he undertook to answer that captain, and soon put him to silence. Then said this Francis Howgill of me, This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes. After this I opened to the people that that ground and house was no holier than another place, and that that house is not the church, but the people whom Christ is the head of. Then after awhile the priests came up to me, and I warned them to repent. One of them said I was mad, and so they turned away. But many people were convinced there that day, and were glad at the hearing of the truth declared, and received it with joy. Amongst these was one called Captain Ward, who received the truth in the love of it and lived and died in it.

The next First day I came to Firbank Chapel in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill before named and one John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people so that many could not get in. And Francis Howgill said, He thought I looked into the chapel, and his spirit was ready to fail, the Lord's power did so surprise him; but I did not look in. They made haste and had quickly done at that time. And they and some of the people went to their dinners; but abundance

stayed till they came again. Now John Blakelin and others came to me and desired me not to reprove them publicly, for they were not parish teachers but pretty tender men. I could not tell them whether I should or no (though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publicly against them), but I said they must leave me to the Lord's movings. So, while the others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook and got me a little water, and then came and sate down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me with several of their preachers; it was judged there were above a thousand people, amongst whom I declared God's everlasting truth and word of life freely and largely for about the space of three hours, directing all to the Spirit of God in themselves, that they might be turned from the darkness to the light and believe in it, that they might become the children of it; and might be turned from the power of Satan, which they had been under, unto God, and by the spirit of truth might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets and of Christ and of the apostles; and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. And in the openings of the heavenly life I opened unto them the prophets and the figures and shadows, and directed them to Christ the substance. So I declared unto them that the Lord God had sent me to preach the everlasting gospel and word of life amongst them; and to bring them off

from all these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world which had gotten up since the apostles' days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the Spirit and power that the apostles were in. Very largely was I opened at this meeting, and the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry and reached home unto the hearts of the people, whereby many were convinced that day, and all the teachers of that congregation, who were many, were convinced of God's everlasting truth.

From Kendal I went to Under-barrow, to one Miles Bateman's ; and several people going along with me, great reasonings I had with them, especially with Edward Burrough. At night the priest came, and many professors, to the house; and a great deal of disputing I had with them. Supper being provided for the priest and the rest of the company, I had not freedom to eat with them, but told them if they would appoint a meeting for the next day at the steeple-house, and acquaint the people with it, I might meet them. They had a great deal of reasoning about it, some being for it and some against it. In the morning I walked out (after I had spoken again to them concerning the meeting); and as I walked upon a bank by the house, there came several poor people, travellers, asking relief, who I saw were in necessity, and they gave them nothing, but said they were cheats. It grieved me to see such hard-heartedness amongst professors ; whereupon, when they were gone in to their breakfast, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them some money. Meanwhile, some of them that were in the house coming out again, and seeing me a quarter of a mile off, said I could not have gone so far in such an instant if I

had not had wings. Hereupon the meeting was like to have been put by; for they were filled with such strange thoughts concerning me, that many of them were against having a meeting with me. I told them I ran after those poor people to give them some money, being grieved at their hard-heartedness who gave them nothing. Then came Miles and Stephen Hubbersty, and they being more simple-hearted men, would have the meeting held. So to the chapel at Under-barrow I went; and the priest came, and a great meeting there was, and the way of life and salvation was opened; and after a while the priest fled away. And many of Crook and Under-barrow were convinced that day, and received the word of life, and stood fast in it under the teaching of Christ Jesus. Now, after I had declared the truth to them for some hours, and the meeting was ended, the chief-constable and some other professors fell to reasoning with me in the chapel-yard; whereupon I took a Bible and opened to them the Scriptures, and dealt tenderly with them, as one would do with a child. And they that were in the light of Christ and spirit of God knew when I spake Scripture, though I did not mention chapter and verse, after the priest's form, unto them.

I went to Ulverstone and so to Swarthmore, to Judge Fell's, whither came up one Lampitt, a priest, who I perceived had been, and still was, an high-notionist. With him I had a great deal of reasoning; for he would talk of high notions and perfection, and thereby deceived the people. He would have owned me, but I could not own nor join with him, he was so full of filth. He said he was above John, and made as though he knew all things. But I told him, Death reigned from Adam to Moses; and that

he was under death, and knew not Moses; for Moses saw the Paradise of God; but he knew neither Moses, nor the prophets, nor John; for that crooked and rough nature stood in him, and the mountain of sin and corruptions; and the way was not prepared in him for the Lord. He confessed he had been under a cross in things, but now he could sing psalms and do anything. I told him, Now he could see a thief and join hand in hand with him; but he could not preach Moses, nor the prophets, nor John, nor Christ, except he were in the same spirit that they were in. Now, Margaret Fell had been abroad in the day-time, and at night her children told her that priest Lampitt and I had disagreed; which did somewhat trouble her, because she was in a profession with him (but he hid his dirty actions from them). At night we had a great deal of reasoning, and I declared the truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and I had a great deal of discourse with him before Margaret Fell, who then clearly discerned the priest, and a convincement of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family. Within a day or two there was a day to be observed for an humiliation, and Margaret Fell asked me to go with her to the steeple-house at Ulverstone (for she was not wholly come off from them). I replied, I must do as I am ordered by the Lord. So I left her, and walked into the fields; and the word of the Lord came to me, saying, Go to the steeple-house after them. When I came, the priest Lampitt was singing with his people; but his spirit was so foul, and the matter they sung so unsuitable to their states, that after they had done singing I was moved of the Lord to speak to him and the people. The word of the Lord to them was: He is not a

Jew that is one outward, but he is a Jew that is one inward; whose praise is not of man, but of God. Then, as the Lord opened further, I showed them that God was come to teach his people by his Spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways and religions, churches and worships; for all their religions, and worships, and ways was but talking of other men's words, but they were out of the life and Spirit which they were in who gave them forth. Then cried out one called Justice Sawrey, Take him away. But Judge Fell's wife said to the officers, Let him alone: why may not he speak as well as any other? Lampitt also, the priest (in deceit), said, Let him speak. So at length, when I had declared a pretty while, this justice Sawrey caused the constable to put me out; and then I spake to the people in the graveyard.

I passed to Ramside, where was a chapel in which one Thomas Lawson used to preach, who was a high sort of a priest, and he very lovingly spake to his people in the morning of my coming in the afternoon, by which means very many people were gathered together. When I came I saw there was no place so convenient to declare to the people there as the chapel; wherefore I went into the chapel, and all was quiet; and the priest, Thomas Lawson, went not up into his pulpit, but left all the time to me. And the everlasting day of the Eternal God was proclaimed that day, and the everlasting truth was largely declared, which reached and entered into the hearts of the people, and many received the truth in the love of it. And this priest came to be convinced, and left his chapel, and threw off his preaching for hire, and came to preach the Lord Jesus and his kingdom freely. After that some rude people cast

scandals upon him, and thought to have done him a mischief; but he was carried over all, and grew in the wisdom of God mightily, and proved very serviceable in his place.

Then I went to Becliff, where Leonard Fell was convinced and became a minister of the everlasting gospel. And several others were convinced there and came into obedience to the truth. Here the people said they could not tell how to dispute, and would fain have put on some other to hold talk with me. But I bid them fear the Lord, and not in a light way hold a talk of the Lord's words, but put the things in practice. And I directed them to the divine light of Christ and his Spirit in their hearts, which would let them see all the evil thoughts, words, and actions that they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which light they might see their sin, and by which light they might also see their Saviour Christ Jesus, to save them from their sins. This I told them was their first step to peace, even to stand still in the light that showed them their sins and transgressions, by which they might come to see how they were in the fall of old Adam, in the darkness and death, strangers to the covenant of promise, and without God in the world. And by the same light they might see Christ, that died for them, to be their Redeemer and Saviour and their way to God.

Soon after Judge Fell being come home, Margaret Fell, his wife, sent to me desiring me to return thither; and I feeling freedom from the Lord so to do, went back through the country to Swarthmore. After we had discoursed a pretty time together, Judge Fell himself was satisfied also, and came to see, by the openings of the Spirit of God

in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world, and did not go to hear them for some years before he died. For he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Christ was the teacher of his people and their Saviour. And while I was in those parts Richard Farnsworth and James Naylor came thither to see me and the family. And Judge Fell being satisfied that it was the way of truth, notwithstanding all their opposition, let the meeting be kept at his house. And a great meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, to the tormenting of the priests and professors, which hath continued there near forty years until the year 1690, that a new meeting-house was erected near it.

After this I returned into Westmoreland, and spake through Kendal upon a market-day. And so dreadful was the power of God that was upon me that people flew like chaff before me into their houses. I warned them of the mighty day of the Lord, and exhorted them to hearken to the voice of God in their own hearts, who was now come to teach his people himself.

I went up to Swarthmore again, whither came up four or five of the priests. And, coming to discourse, I asked them, Whether any one of them could say he ever had the word of the Lord to go and speak to such or such a people? None of them durst say he had. But one of them burst out into a passion, and said he could speak his experiences as well as I. I told him, Experience was one thing; but to receive and go with a message, and to have a word from the Lord as the prophets and apostles had and did, and as I had done to them, this was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again, Could any of them say he had

ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at any time? But none of them could say so. Then I told them, The false prophets and false apostles and antichrists could use the words of the true prophets and true apostles and of Christ, and would speak of other men's experiences, though they themselves never knew nor heard the voice of God and Christ; and such as they might get the good words and experiences of others. This puzzled them much and laid them open; for at another time, when I was discoursing with several priests at Judge Fell's house and he was by, I asked them the same question, Whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Christ to bid him go to such or such a people to declare his word or message unto them? For any one, I told them, any that could but read might declare the experiences of the prophets and apostles which were recorded in the Scriptures. Hereupon one of them, whose name was Thomas Taylor, an ancient priest, did ingenuously confess before Judge Fell that he had never heard the voice of God nor of Christ to send him to any people; but he spake his experiences and the experiences of the saints in former ages, and that he preached. This very much confirmed Judge Fell in the persuasion he had that the priests were wrong; for he had thought formerly, as the generality of the people then did, that they were sent from God.

This Thomas Taylor was convinced at this time, and travelled with me into Westmoreland, and coming to Crofland steeple-house, we found the people gathered together there. And the Lord opened Thomas Taylor's mouth amongst the people (though he was convinced but the day before), so that he declared amongst them how he

had been before he was convinced, and, like the good Scribe that was converted to the kingdom, he brought forth things new and old to the people, and showed them how the priests were out of the way.

After this, on a lecture day, I was moved to go to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, where were abundance of professors, priests, and people. I went up near to priest Lampitt, who was blustering on in his preaching. And after the Lord had opened my mouth to speak, John Sawrey, the justice, came to me, and said if I would speak according to the Scriptures I should speak. I stranged at him for speaking so to me, for I did speak according to the Scriptures; and I told him I should speak according to the Scriptures and bring the Scriptures to prove what I had to say; for I had something to speak to Lampitt and to them. Then he said I should not speak, contradicting himself who had said just before, I should speak if I would speak according to the Scriptures, which I did. Now the people were quiet, and heard me gladly, until this justice Sawrey (who was the first stirrer-up of cruel persecution in the north) incensed them against me, and set them on to hale, beat, and bruise me. Then on a sudden the people were in a rage, and they fell upon me in the steeple-house before his face, and knocked me down, and kicked me, and trampled upon me, he looking on; and so great was the uproar that some people tumbled over their seats for fear. At last he came and took me from the people, and led me out of the steeple-house, and put me into the hands of the constables and other officers, bidding them whip me and put me out of the town. Then they led me about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold by my collar, and some by my

arms and shoulders, and shook and dragged me along. And there being many friendly people come to the market, and some of them come to the steeple-house to hear me, divers of these they knocked down also, and brake their heads, so that the blood ran down from several of them. And Judge Fell's son running after to see what they would do with me, they threw him into a ditch of water, some of them crying, Knock the teeth out of his head. Now when they had haled me to the common moss-side, a multitude of people following, the constables and other officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow rods, and so thrust me among the rude multitude, who—having furnished themselves some with staves, some with hedge-stakes, and others with holm or holly bushes—fell upon me, and beat me on my head, arms, and shoulders till they had amazed me so that I fell down upon the wet common. And when I recovered myself again, and saw myself lying in a watery common, and the people standing about me, I lay still a little while; and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings refreshed me, so that I stood up again in the strengthening power of the Eternal God, and stretching out my arms amongst them I said with a loud voice, Strike again; here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks. There was in the company a mason, a professor, but a rude fellow; he with his walking rule-staff gave me a blow with all his might just over the back of my hand as it was stretched out, with which blow my hand was so bruised and my arm so benumbed, that I could not draw it unto me again; so that some of the people cried out, He hath spoiled his hand for ever having any use of it more. But I looked at it in the love of God

(for I was in the love of God to them all that had persecuted me); and after a while the Lord's power sprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, so that in a moment I recovered strength in my hand and arm in the sight of them all.

Being come to Lancaster, and Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson having granted a warrant to apprehend me —though I was not apprehended by it—yet hearing of it, I appeared at the sessions, where there appeared against me about forty priests; these had chosen one Marshal, priest of Lancaster, to be their orator; and had provided one young priest and two priests' sons to bear witness against me, who had sworn beforehand that I had spoken blasphemy.

There were then in court several people who had been at that meeting wherein the witnesses swore I spake those blasphemous words which the priests accused me of, and these, being men of integrity and reputation in the country, did declare and affirm in court, That the oath which the witnesses had taken against me was altogether false; and that no such words as they had sworn against me were spoken by me at that meeting. For indeed most of the serious men of that side of the country that were then at the sessions had been at that meeting, and had heard me both at that meeting and at other meetings also. This was taken notice of by Colonel West, who, being a justice of the peace, was then upon the bench; and, having long been weak in body, blessed the Lord and said, The Lord had healed him that day; adding, That he never saw so many sober people and good faces together in all his life. And then turning himself to me he said in the

open sessions, George, if thou hast anything to say to the people, thou mayest freely declare it. And I was moved of the Lord to speak; and as soon as I began, priest Marshal, the orator for the rest of the priests, went his way. That which I was moved to declare was this: That the Holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God; and all people must first come to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and the apostles learned; and by the same Spirit know the Holy Scriptures; for as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scriptures, so the same Spirit of God must be in all them that come to know and understand the Scriptures. By which Spirit they might have fellowship with the Son and with the Father and with the Scriptures and with one another. And without this Spirit they can know neither God nor Christ nor the Scriptures, nor have right fellowship one with another. I had no sooner spoken these words, but about half a dozen priests that stood behind my back burst out into a passion, and one of them, whose name was Jackus, amongst other things that he spake against the truth said, That the Spirit and the letter were inseparable. I replied, Then every one that hath the letter hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scriptures. This plain discovery of darkness in the priest moved Judge Fell and Colonel West to reprove them openly and tell them, That according to that position they might carry the Spirit in their pockets as they did the Scriptures. So the justices, seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that they were brought to answer the priests' envy, and finding that all their evidences were not sufficient in law to make good

their charge against me, they discharged me. It was a day of everlasting salvation to hundreds of people; for the Lord Jesus Christ, the way to the Father and the free Teacher, was exalted and set up, and his everlasting gospel was preached, and the word of eternal life was declared over the heads of the priests and all such money-preachers.

At this time I was in a fast, and was not to eat until this work of God which then lay weighty upon me was accomplished. But the Lord's power was wonderfully set over all, and gave truth and Friends dominion therein over all to his glory.

But the priests, fretting to see themselves overthrown at the sessions at Lancaster, got some of the envious justices to join with them, and, at the following assize at Lancaster, informed Judge Windham against me. Whereupon the judge made a speech against me in open court, and commanded Colonel West, who was clerk of the assize, to issue forth a warrant for the apprehending of me. But Colonel West told the judge of my innocency, and spake boldly in my defence. Yet the judge commanded him again either to write a warrant or go off from his seat. Then he told the judge plainly that he would not do it; but that he would offer up all his estate and his body also for me. So he stopped the judge, and the Lord's power came over all; so that the priests and justices could not get their envy executed. That same night I came into Lancaster, it being the assize-time; and hearing of a warrant to be given out against me, I judged it better to show myself openly than for my adversaries to seek me. So I went to Judge Fell's and Colonel West's chambers; and as soon as I came in they smiled on me; and Colonel West said, What! are

you come into the dragon's mouth? I stayed in town till the judge went out of town; and I walked up and down the town, but no one meddled with me nor questioned me. Thus the Lord's blessed power which is over all carried me through and over this exercise, and gave dominion over his enemies, and enabled me to go on in his glorious work and service for his great name's sake. For though the beast maketh war against the saints, yet the Lamb hath got, and will get, the victory.

It was about the beginning of the year 1653 when I returned to Swarthmore. And great openings I had from the Lord not only of divine and spiritual matters, but also of outward things relating to the civil government. For, being one day in Swarthmore hall, when Judge Fell and Justice Benson were talking of the news in the news-book and of the parliament that then was sitting, (which was called the Long Parliament,) I was moved to tell them, That before that day two weeks the parliament should be broken up and the speaker plucked out of his chair. And that day two weeks Justice Benson coming thither again, told Judge Fell, That now he saw George was a true prophet; for Oliver had broken up the parliament by that time.

About this time I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on truth's behalf; for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and some of his company had true openings at the first; but, getting up into pride and exaltation of spirit, they run out from truth. I was sent for to them, and was moved of the Lord to go and show them their goings forth. And they came

to see their folly and condemned it, and came into the way of truth again.

Now was I moved to send James Lancaster to appoint a meeting at one John Wilkinson's steeple-house near Cockermouth, who was a preacher in great repute, and had three parishes under him. And the Lord opened my mouth to declare his everlasting truth and his everlasting day, and to lay open all their teachers and their rudiments, traditions, and inventions that they had been in in the night of apostasy since the apostles' days. And I turned them to Christ, the true teacher, and to the true, spiritual worship, directing them where to find the Spirit and truth, that they might worship God therein.

So when I had largely declared the word of life unto them for about the space of three hours, I walked forth from amongst the people, and the people passed away very well satisfied. Among the rest a professor followed me praising and commending me, and his words were like a thistle to me; at last I turned about and bid him fear the Lord. Whereupon one priest Larkham, of Cockermouth, (for several priests were got together on the way who came after the meeting was done) said to me, Sir, why do you judge so? you must not judge, said he. But I turned to him and said, Friend, dost not thou discern an exhortation from a judgment? for I admonished him to fear God, and dost thou say I judge him? Many hundreds were convinced that day, and received the Lord Jesus Christ and his free teaching with gladness.

I passed away about two miles to another great steeple-house of the said John Wilkinson's called Brigham. When I came into the steeple-house yard a professor came to me

and asked if I would not go into the church, as he called it. And I, seeing no convenient place abroad to stand to speak unto the people from, went in, and stood up in a seat after the people were settled. The priest came in also, but did not go up to his pulpit. So the Lord opened my mouth and I declared his everlasting truth and word of life to the people, directing them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ and the Scriptures, and come to have heavenly fellowship in the Spirit. And I declared to them that every one that cometh into the world was enlightened by Christ, the life, by which light they might see their sins and Christ who was come to save them from their sins and died for them. And if they came to walk in this light, they might therein see Christ to be the author of their faith and the finisher thereof; their shepherd to feed them, their priest to teach them, and their great prophet to open divine mysteries unto them, and to be always present with them. I opened also unto them, in the openings of the Lord, the first covenant, showing them the figures and the substance of those figures, and so bringing them on to Christ, the New Covenant. I also manifested unto them that there had been a night of apostasy since the apostles' days, but that now the everlasting gospel was preached again, which brought life and immortality to light; and the day of the Lord was come; and Christ was come to teach his people himself, by his light, grace, power, and spirit. A fine opportunity the Lord gave me to preach truth among the people that day for about three hours' time; and all was quiet. And many hundreds were convinced that day, and some of them praised God and said, Now we know the first step to peace.

Passing on, we came to Carlisle. On the market-day I went up into the market to the market-cross. Now the magistrates had both threatened and sent their serjeants; and the magistrates' wives had said that if I came there they would pluck the hair from off my head, and that the serjeants should take me up. Nevertheless, I obeyed the Lord God and went upon the cross, and there declared unto them, That the day of the Lord was coming upon all their deceitful ways and doings and deceitful merchandise. And after I had declared the word of life to the people, the throng being so great that the serjeants could not get to me nor the magistrates' wives come at me, I passed away quietly. Many people and soldiers came to me, and some Baptists that were bitter contenders, amongst whom one of their deacons, being an envious man, and finding the Lord's power was over them, cried out for very anger. Whereupon I set my eyes upon him and spake sharply to him in the power of the Lord. And he cried, Do not pierce me so with thy eyes; keep thy eyes off me.

On the First day following I went into the steeple-house, and after the priest had done I preached the truth to the people, and declared the word of life amongst them. The priest got away, and the magistrates desired me to go out of the steeple-house. But I still declared the way of the Lord unto them, and told them I came to speak the word of life and salvation from the Lord amongst them. The next day the justices and magistrates of the town being gathered together in the town hall, they granted a warrant against me, and sent for me to come before them. So after a large examination they committed me to prison as a blasphemer, an heretic, and a seducer. They were in a black,

dark rage, and set three musketeers for guard upon me — one at my chamber door, another at the stairs foot, and a third at the street door. And none they would let come at me except one sometimes to bring me some necessary things. At night they would bring up priests to me, sometimes as late as the tenth hour in the night, and they would be exceeding rude and devilish. There were a company of bitter Scotch priests, Presbyterians, made up of envy and malice, who were not fit to speak of the things of God, they were so foul mouthed. But the Lord by his power gave me dominion over them all, and I let them see both their fruits and their spirits.

After the judges were gone out of town, an order was sent to the jailer to put me down into the prison amongst the moss-troopers, thieves, and murderers, which accordingly he did. A filthy, nasty place it was. Yet, as bad as the place was, the prisoners were all made very loving and subject to me; and some of them were convinced of the truth as the publicans and harlots were of old, so that they were able to confound a priest that might come to the grates to dispute. But the jailer was very cruel, and the under-jailer very abusive both to me and to Friends that came to see me; for he would beat Friends with a great cudgel that did but come to the window to look in upon me. I could get up to the grate, where sometimes I took in my meat, at which the jailer was often offended. One time he came in a great rage and fell a-beating me with his great cudgel, though I was not at the grate at that time, and as he beat me he cried, Come out of the window, though I was then far enough from it. Now while he struck me, I was made to sing in the Lord's power, and

that made him rage the more. Then he went and fetched a fiddler, and brought him in where I was and set him to play, thinking to vex me thereby: but while he played I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing, and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle and struck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling and go their ways.

The Lord's power came over the justices, and they were made to set me at liberty. But sometime before I was set at liberty, the governor and Anthony Pearson came down into the prison to see the place where I was kept and understand what usage I had. And when they were come down to me, they found the place so bad and the savour so ill, that they cried shame of the magistrates for suffering the jailer to do such things. And they called for the jailers into the prison, and required them to find sureties for their good behaviour: and the under-jailer, who had been such a cruel fellow, they put into the prison with me amongst the moss-troopers.

Now I went into the country and had mighty great meetings, and the everlasting gospel and word of life flourished, and thousands were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ and to his teaching.

We came through the country into Cumberland again, where we had a general meeting of thousands of people atop of an hill near Langlands. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was, for the glory of the Lord did shine over all, and there were as many as one could well speak over, the multitude was so great. Their eyes were turned to Christ their teacher, and they came to sit under their own vine; insomuch that Francis Howgill coming afterwards to visit

them, found they had no need of words, for they were sitting under their teacher Christ Jesus, in the sense whereof he sate down amongst them without speaking anything. A great convincement there was in Cumberland, Bishoprick, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. And the plants of God grew and flourished so, the heavenly rain descending and God's glory shining upon them, that many mouths were opened by the Lord to his praise; yea, to babes and sucklings He ordained strength.

About this time the priests and professors fell to prophesying against us afresh. They had said long before that we should be destroyed within a month, and after that they prolonged that time to half a year; but that time being long expired, and we mightily increased in number, they now gave forth that we would eat out one another; for many times after meetings, many tender people having a great way to go, tarried at Friends' houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lodge in, so that some have lain on the hay-mows; hereupon Cain's fear possessed the professors and world's people; for they were afraid that when we had eaten one another out we would all come to be maintained by the parishes, and so we should be chargeable to them. But after awhile, when they saw that the Lord blessed and increased Friends, as He did Abraham, both in the field and in the basket, at their goings forth and comings in, at their risings up and lyings down, and that all things prospered with them, then they saw the falseness of all their prophecies against us, and that it was in vain to curse where God had blessed. At the first convincement, when Friends could not put off their hats to people, nor say you to a single person but thou

and thee, or could not bow nor use flattering words in salutations, nor go into the fashions and customs of the world, many Friends that were tradesmen of several sorts lost their customers at the first; for the people were shy of them and would not trade with them, so that for a time some Friends that were tradesmen could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterwards, when people came to have experience of Friends' honesty and faithfulness, and found that their yea was yea and their nay was nay, that they kept to a word in their dealings, and that they would not cozen and cheat them; but that if they sent any child to their shops for anything they were as well used as if they had come themselves, the lives and conversations of Friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in people. And then things altered so that all the inquiry was, Where was a draper or shop-keeper or tailor or shoemaker or any other tradesman that was a Quaker? Then that was all the cry, insomuch that Friends had more trade than many of their neighbours; and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. And then the envious professors altered their note and began to cry out, If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands. This hath been the Lord's doings to and for his people, which, my desire is, that all who profess his holy truth may be kept truly sensible of, and that all may be preserved in and by his power and Spirit faithful to God and man,—first to God in obeying Him in all things; and then in doing unto all men that which is just and righteous, true and holy and honest to all men and women in all things that they have to do or deal with them in; that the Lord God may be glorified in their

practising truth, holiness, godliness, and righteousness amongst people in all their lives and conversations.

Now when the churches were settled in the north and Friends were sate down under Christ's teaching and the glory of the Lord shined over them, I passed from Swarthmore to Lancaster (about the beginning of the year 1654) and so through the countries, visiting Friends till I came to Snyder-hill-green, where there was a meeting appointed three weeks before; leaving the north fresh and green under Christ their teacher. And when I came to Snyder-hill-green there was a mighty meeting, some thousands of people as it was judged, and many persons of note were there, as captains and other officers, and there was a general convincement; for the Lord's power and truth was set over all, and there was no opposition.

About this time did the Lord move upon the spirits of many whom He had raised up and sent forth to labour in his vineyard to travel southwards, and spread themselves in the service of the gospel to the eastern, southern, and western parts of the nation — as Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to London; John Camm and John Audland to Bristol through the countries; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead towards Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales, and others otherways; for above sixty ministers had the Lord raised up and did now send abroad out of the north country.

I went to Drayton, in Leicestershire, to visit my relations; and as soon as I was come in, Nathaniel Stevens the priest, having gotten another priest and given notice to the country, sent down to me to come up to them; for they could not do anything till I came. Now I, having been three

years away from my relations, knew nothing of their design and intentions. But at last I went up into the steeple-house yard where the two priests were: and they had gathered abundance of people. When I came there, they would have had me gone into the steeple-house. I asked them, What I should do there? and they said, Mr. Stephens could not bear the cold. I told them he might bear it as well as I. At last we went into a great hall: and there was Richard Farnsworth with me. And a great dispute we had with these priests concerning the practice of the priests, how contrary they were to Christ and his apostles. The priests would know where tithes were forbidden or ended? Whereupon I showed them out of the seventh chapter to the Hebrews that not only tithes but the priesthood that took tithes was ended: and the law was ended and disannulled by which the priesthood was made and tithes were commanded to be paid. Then the priests stirred up the people to some lightness and rudeness. Now I had known this priest Stephens from a child, therefore I laid open his condition and the manner of his preaching: and how that he, like the rest of the priests, did apply the promises to the first birth, which must die. But I showed that the promises were to the seed; not to many seeds but to the one seed, Christ, who was one in male and female; for all were to be born again before they could enter into the kingdom of God. Then he said I must not judge so. But I told him, He that was spiritual judged all things. Then he confessed that that was a full Scripture. But, neighbours, said he, this is the business — George Fox is come to the light of the sun, and now he thinks to put out my starlight. Then I told him I would not quench the least

measure of God in any, much less put out his starlight if it were true starlight, light from the Morning Star. But I told him if he had anything from Christ or God he ought to speak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching, seeing Christ commanded his ministers to give freely as they had received freely. So I charged him to preach no more for tithes or any hire. But he said he would not yield unto that. Then after awhile the people began to be vain and rude, whereupon we broke up; yet some were made loving to the truth that day. Now before we parted I told them that, if the Lord would, I intended to be at the town that day seven-night again; and in the interim I went into the country and had meetings, and came thither again that day seven-night. Against that time this priest had got seven priests to help him. Now these eight priests had gathered several hundreds of people, even most of the country thereabouts, and they would have had me into the steeple-house; but I would not go in, but got on an hill and there spoke to them and the people. After awhile several lusty fellows came and took me up in their arms and carried me into the steeple-house porch, intending to have carried me into the steeple-house by force; but the door being locked, they fell down on an heap, having me under them. As soon as I could, I got up from under them and got to my hill again. Then they got me from that place again and got me to the steeple-house wall and set me on a bass like a stool; and all the priests being come back stood under with the people. I felt the mighty power of God arise over all (though the people began to be a little rude) and I told them if they would but give audience and hear me quietly I would

show them by the Scriptures why I denied those eight priests or teachers that stood there before me, and all the hireling teachers of the world whatsoever; and I would give them Scriptures for what I said. Whereupon both priests and people consented. Then I showed them out of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Malachi, and other prophets, that they were in the steps of such as God sent his true prophets to cry against. So when I had largely quoted the Scriptures and showed them wherein they were like the Pharisees, loving to be called of men masters, and to go in long robes, and to stand praying in the synagogues, and to have the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the like; and when I had thrown them out in the sight of the people amongst the false prophets, deceivers, scribes, and Pharisees, and showed at large how such as they were judged and condemned by the true prophets, by Christ and by the apostles, I directed them to the light of Christ Jesus, who enlightens every man that cometh into the world; that by it they might see whether these things were not true as had been spoken. Now when I appealed to that of God in their consciences, the light of Christ Jesus in them, they could not abide to hear of it. They were all quiet till then; but then a professor said, George, what! wilt thou never have done? I told him I should have done shortly. So I went on a little longer, and cleared myself of them in the Lord's power. Priest Stephens came to me and desired that my father and brother and I might go aside with him that he might speak to me in private; and the rest of the priests should keep the people from coming to us. I was very loth to go aside with him; but the people cried, Go, George; do, George, go

aside with him; and I was afraid if I did not go they would say I was disobedient to my parents. So I went; and the rest of the priests were to keep the people off, but they could not; for the people being willing to hear drew close to us. I asked the priest what he had to say? And he said, If he was out of the way I should pray for him; and if I was out of the way he would pray for me; and he would give me a form of words to pray for him by. I replied, It seems thou dost not know whether thou beest in the right way or no, neither dost thou know whether I am in the right way or no; but I know that I am in the everlasting way, Christ Jesus, which thou art out of. And thou wouldest give me a form of words to pray by, and yet thou deniest the Common Prayer Book to pray by as well as I, and I deny thy form of words as well as it. If thou wouldest have me pray for thee by a form of words, is not this to deny the apostles' doctrine and practice of praying by the Spirit as it gave words and utterance? Many people were convinced that day, for the Lord's power came over all. And whereas they thought to have confounded truth that day, many were convinced of it; and many that were convinced before, were by that day's work confirmed in the truth and abode in it; and a great shake it gave to the priests. Yea, my father, though he was an hearer and follower of the priest, was so well satisfied, that he struck his cane upon the ground and said, Truly I see he that will but stand to the truth, it will carry him out. Now the reason why I would not go into their steeple-house was because I was to bear my testimony against it, and to bring all off from such places to the Spirit of God; that they might know their bodies to be the temples of the Holy

Ghost. And to bring them off from all the hireling teachers to Christ their free teacher, that had died for them and purchased them with his blood.

Then I went to Leicester, and from Leicester to Whetston. But before the meeting began, there came about seventeen troopers of Colonel Hacker's regiment with his marshal; and they took me up before the meeting. At night they had me before Colonel Hacker and his major and captains, a great company of them. And a great deal of discourse we had about the priests and about meetings (for at this time there was a noise of a plot against O. Cromwell). And much reasoning I had with them about the light of Christ, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Colonel Hacker asked whether it was not this light of Christ that made Judas betray his master and after led him to hang himself. I told him, No; that was the spirit of darkness which hated Christ and his light. Then Colonel Hacker said I might go home and keep at home, and not go abroad to meetings. I told him I was an innocent man, free from plots, and denied all such work. Then his son Needham said, Father, this man hath reigned too long; it is time to have him cut off. I asked him for what? what had I done or whom had I wronged from a child? for I was bred and born in that country, and who could accuse me of any evil from a child? Then Colonel Hacker asked me again if I would go home and stay at home? I told him if I should promise him so, that would manifest that I was guilty of something to go home, and make my home a prison; and if I went to meetings they would say I broke their order. Therefore I told them I should go to meetings as the Lord should order me, and therefore could not

submit to their requirings; but I said we were a peaceable people. Well then, said Colonel Hacker, I will send you to-morrow morning by six a clock to my Lord Protector by Captain Drury, one of his life-guard. That night I was kept a prisoner at the Marshalsey; and the next morning by the sixth hour I was ready and delivered to Captain Drury. I desired he would let me speak with Colonel Hacker before I went, and he had me to his bedside. Colonel Hacker at me presently again to go home and keep no more meetings. I told him I could not submit to that, but must have my liberty to serve God and to go to meetings. Then, said he, you must go before the Protector. Whereupon I kneeled on his bedside and besought the Lord to forgive him; for he was as Pilate, though he would wash his hands; and when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, I bid him then remember what I had said to him. But he was stirred up, and set on by priest Stephens and the other priests and professors, wherein their envy and baseness was manifest, who, when they could not overcome me by disputes and arguments nor resist the Spirit of the Lord that was in me, then they got soldiers to take me up.

Afterwards, when this Colonel Hacker was in prison in London, a day or two before he was executed, he was put in mind of what he had done against the innocent. And he remembered it, and confessed to it to Margaret Fell, and said he knew well whom she meant, and he had a trouble upon him for it. So his son, who had told his father I had reigned too long and that it was time to have me cut off, might observe how his father was cut off afterwards, being hanged at Tyburn.

Now was I carried up a prisoner by Captain Drury aforesaid from Leicester. So he brought me to London and lodged me at the Mermaid over against the Mews at Charing-cross. He left me there, and went to give the Protector an account of me. And when he came to me again, he told me the Protector did require that I should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the government as it then was; and that I should write it in what words I saw good and set my hand to it. I said little in reply to Captain Drury. But the next morning I was moved of the Lord to write a paper to the Protector by the name of Oliver Cromwell, wherein I did in the presence of the Lord God declare, That I did deny the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword or any other outward weapon against him or any man. And that I was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence and against the works of darkness; and to turn people from the darkness to the light, and to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting to the peaceable gospel, and from being evil-doers, which the magistrates' sword should be a terror to. When I had written what the Lord had given me to write, I set my name to it and gave it to Captain Drury to give to O. Cromwell, which he did. Then after some time Captain Drury brought me before the Protector himself at Whitehall. It was in a morning, before he was dressed; and one Harvey, that had come a little among Friends but was disobedient, waited upon him. When I came in I was moved to say, Peace be in this house. And I bid him keep in the fear of God that he might receive wisdom from Him; that by it he might be ordered and with it might order all things under his hand to God's glory. I spake much to

him of truth and a great deal of discourse I had with him about religion, wherein he carried himself very moderately. But he said we quarrelled with the priests whom he called ministers. I told him I did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled with me and my friends. But, said I, if we own the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, we cannot hold up such teachers, prophets, and shepherds as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared against; but we must declare against them by the same power and Spirit. Then I showed him that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared freely and declared against them that did not declare freely; such as preached for filthy lucre, and divined for money, and preached for hire, and were covetous and greedy like the dumb dogs that could never have enough. And that they that have the same Spirit that Christ and the prophets and the apostles had, could not but declare against all such now, as they did then. As I spake he would several times say, It was very good, and it was truth. I told him that all Christendom (so called) had the Scriptures, but they wanted the power and Spirit that they had who gave forth the Scriptures; and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the Scriptures, nor one with another. Many more words I had with him; but, people coming in, I drew a little back. And as I was turning he catched me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes said, Come again to my house; for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together we should be nearer one to the other; adding, that he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul. I told him if he did, he wronged his own soul. And I bid him hearken to God's voice that he might stand in his counsel

and obey it, and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened. And he said it was true. Then went I out. And when Captain Drury came out after me he told me his Lord Protector said I was at liberty and might go whither I would. Then I was brought into a great hall where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine; and I asked them what they did bring me thither for? They said it was by the Protector's order, that I might dine with them. I bid them let the Protector know I would not eat a bit of his bread nor drink a sup of his drink. When he heard this, he said, Now I see there is a people risen and come up that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people I can. But it was told him again, That we had forsook our own, and were not like to look for such things from him.

Now I being set at liberty went up to the inn again where Captain Drury had at first lodged me. This Captain Drury, though he sometimes carried fairly, was an enemy to me and to truth and opposed it; and when professors came to me (while I was under his custody and he was by), he would scoff at trembling and call us Quakers, as the Independents and Presbyterians had nick-named us before. But afterwards he came on a time to me and told me that as he was lying on his bed to rest himself in the daytime, a sudden trembling seized on him that his joints knocked together and his body shook so that he could not rise from his bed, he was so shaken that he had not strength enough left to rise; but he felt the power of the Lord was upon him, and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord and said he would never speak against the Quakers more, such as trembled at the Word of God.

When I came from Whitehall to the Mermaid at Charing-Cross (which had been my prison) I staid not long there, but went into the city of London, where we had great and powerful meetings; and so great were the throngs of people that I could hardly get to and from the meetings, for the crowds of people: and the truth spread exceedingly. Then after awhile I went to Whitehall again, and was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them, and that the Lord was come to teach his people Himself. So I preached truth both to the officers and to them that were called Oliver's gentlemen who were of his guard.

The God of heaven carried me over all in his power, and his blessed power went over the nation; insomuch that many Friends about this time were moved to go up and down to sound forth the everlasting gospel in most parts of this nation, and also into Scotland; and the glory of the Lord was felt over all to his everlasting praise. And a great convincement there was in London, and some in the Protector's house and family. I went to have seen him again, but could not get to him, the officers were grown so rude. I was moved to write a letter to the Protector, so called, to warn him of the mighty work the Lord hath to do in the nations and shaking of them; and to beware of his own wit, craft, subtilty, and policy, or seeking any by-ends to himself.

Now after I had made some stay in the city of London and cleared myself of what service lay upon me at that time there, I was moved of the Lord to go down into Bedfordshire to John Crook's house, where there was a great meeting and people generally convinced of the Lord's truth.

After some time I turned up through the country to London again, where Friends were finely established in the truth and great comings in there were. And about this time several Friends went beyond the seas to declare the everlasting truth of God. Now when I had stayed awhile in the city I went into Kent.

From Ry I went to Rumney, where, the people having had notice of my coming some time before, there was a very large meeting. Thither came Samuel Fisher, who was an eminent preacher among the Baptists, and had had a parsonage reputed worth two hundred pounds a year, which, for conscience' sake, he had given up. And there was also the pastor of the Baptists and abundance of their people. A great convincement there was that day, and many were turned from the darkness to the Divine light of Christ, and came to see their teachers' errors and to sit under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching, and to know him their way and the covenant of light which God had given to be their salvation. And they were brought to the one baptism and to the one baptizer, Christ Jesus. This Samuel Fisher received the truth in the love of it and became a faithful minister of it, and preached Christ freely, and laboured much in the work and service of the Lord, being moved of the Lord to go and declare the word of life at Dunkirk and in Holland and in divers parts of Italy, as Leghorn and Rome itself; and yet the Lord preserved him and his companion John Stubbs out of their inquisitions.

From Dover I went to Canterbury. From thence I passed into Sussex. Several meetings I had thereabouts, and among the rest there was a meeting appointed at a great man's house. A glorious meeting we had. The

hearts of people were opened by the Spirit of God, and they were turned from the hirelings to Christ Jesus their shepherd, who had purchased them without money, would feed them without money or price.

Out of Sussex I travelled through the country till I came to Reading. There I stayed till the First day, and then had a meeting in George Lamboll's orchard, and a great part of the town came to it. A glorious meeting it was, and a great convincement there was that day, and the people were mightily satisfied. After the meeting many Baptists and Ranters came privately reasoning and discoursing; but the Lord's power came over them. The Ranters pleaded that God made the devil; but I denied it, and told them I was come into the power of God, the seed Christ, which was before the devil was and bruised the head of him. And he became a devil by going out of truth, and so became a murderer and a destroyer. So I showed them that God did not make the devil; for God is a God of truth, and He made all things good and blessed them; but God did not bless the devil. And the devil is bad, and was a liar and a murderer from the beginning, and spoke of himself and not from God. And so the truth stopped them and bound them, and came over all the highest notions in the nation and confounded them. For by the power of the Lord God I was manifest, and sought to be made manifest to the Spirit of God in all; that by it, which they vexed and quenched and grieved, they might be turned to God; as many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ by the Spirit of God and were come to sit under his teaching.

After this meeting at Reading I passed up to London,

where I stayed awhile and had large meetings, and then went into Essex and came to Cogshall. And there was a meeting of about two thousand people, as it was judged, which lasted several hours, and a glorious meeting it was; for the word of life was freely declared, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ their teacher and their Saviour, the way, the truth, and the life.

We came to Yarmouth and there stayed awhile, where there was a Friend, one Thomas Bond, in prison for the truth of Christ. There we had some service for the Lord, and some were turned to the Lord in that town. From thence we rode to another town about twenty miles off, where were many tender people. And I was moved of the Lord to speak to the people as I sate upon my horse in several places as I passed along. We went to another town, about five miles from thence, and set up our horses at an inn, having travelled five and forty miles that day, Richard Hubberthorn and I. There were some friendly people in the town, and we had a tender, broken meeting amongst them in the Lord's power to his praise.

We bid the hostler have our horses ready by the third hour in the morning, for we intended to ride to Lyn, about three and thirty miles, next morning. But when we were in bed at our inn, about the eleventh hour at night came the constable and officers with a great rabble of people into the inn, and said they were come with an hue and cry from a justice of peace that lived near that town, about five miles off, where I had spoken to the people in the streets as I rode along, to search for two horsemen that rid upon grey horses and in grey clothes, an house having been broken up upon the Seventh day before at night as they said. We

told them we were honest and innocent men and abhorred such things, yet they apprehended us and set a guard with halberts and pikes upon us that night, making some of those friendly people with others to watch us. Next morning we were up betimes, and the constable with his guard carried us before a justice of peace about five miles off, and we took two or three of the sufficient men of the town with us, who had been with us at the great meeting at Captain Lawrence's, and could testify that we lay both the Seventh day night and the First day night at Captain Lawrence's, and it was the Seventh day night that they said the house was broken up. Now the reader is to be informed that during the time that I was a prisoner at the Mermaid at Charing-Cross (of which an account is given before), this Captain Lawrence brought several Independent justices to see me there, with whom I had a great deal of discourse which they took offence at. For they pleaded for imperfection and to sin as long as they lived; but did not like to hear of Christ's teaching his people himself, and making people as clear whilst here upon the earth as Adam and Eve were before they fell. Now these justices had plotted together this mischief against me in the country, pretending an house was broken up, that so they might send their hue and cry after me; so great was their malice against the righteous and the just. They were vexed also, and troubled, to hear of the great meeting at John Lawrence's aforesaid; for there was a colonel convinced there that day that lived and died in the truth. But Providence so ordered it that the constable carried us to a justice about five miles onward in our way towards Lyn, who was not an Independent justice as the rest were. When we were

brought before him he began to be angry because we did not put off our hats to him. I told him I had been before the Protector, and he was not offended at my hat, and why should he be offended at it who was but one of his servants? Then he read the hue and cry. And I told him that that night wherein the house was said to be broken up we were at Captain Lawrence's house, and that we had several men here present could testify the truth thereof. Thereupon the justice, having examined us and them, said he believed we were not the men that had broken the house; but he was sorry, he said, that he had no more against us. We told him he ought not to be sorry for not having evil against us, but rather to be glad; for to rejoice when he got evil against people, as for house-breaking or the like, was not a good mind in him. It was a good while yet before he could resolve whether to let us go or send us to prison. And the wicked constable stirred him up against us, telling him we had good horses, and that if it pleased him he would carry us to Norwich jail. But we took hold of the justice's confession, that he believed we were not the men that had broken the house, and after we had admonished him to fear the Lord in his day, the Lord's power came over him so that he let us go, and so their snare was broken. A great people were afterward gathered to the Lord in that town where I was moved to speak to them in the street, and from whence the hue and cry came.

When I came into the town of Cambridge, the scholars, hearing of me, were up and were exceeding rude. I kept on my horse's back and rid through them in the Lord's power; but they unhorsed Amor Stoddart before he could get to the inn. When we were in the inn, they were so rude

there in the courts and in the streets that the miners, the colliers, and carters could never be ruder. They knew I was so against their trade, the trade of preaching, which they were there as apprentices to learn, that they raged as bad as ever Diana's craftsmen did against Paul.

We returned to London, where Friends received us gladly, the Lord's power having carried us through many snares and dangers. And great service we had for the Lord; for many hundreds were brought to sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their Saviour, and to praise the Lord through him. James Naylor also was come up to London; and Richard Hubberthorn and I stayed some time in the city visiting Friends and answering gainsayers; for we had great disputes with professors of all sorts. Many reproaches they cast upon truth, and lying, slanderous books they gave forth against us. But we answered them all, and cleared God's truth and set it over them all, and the Lord's power was over all.

This year came out the oath of abjuration, by which many Friends suffered; and several Friends went to speak with the Protector about it, but he began to harden. And sufferings increasing upon Friends by reason that envious magistrates made use of that oath as a snare to catch Friends in, who they knew could not swear at all, I was moved to write to the Protector about it.

I writ also a short epistle to Friends, as an encouragement to them in their several exercises, which was as followeth:—

"My dear Friends:—In the power of the everlasting God, which comprehends the power of darkness and all the temptations, and that which comes out of it, in that

power of God dwell, which will bring and keep you to the Word in the beginning; which will keep you up to the life, and to feed upon the same, in which you are over the power of darkness. Therefore in that life dwell, in which you will know dominion; and let your faith be in the power and over the weakness and temptations, and look not at them; but in the light and power of God look at the Lord's strength, which will be made perfect in your weakest state. So in all temptations look at the grace of God to bring your salvation, which is your teacher to teach you; for when you do look or hearken to the temptations, you do go from your teacher, the grace of God."

From Worcester we went to Tewksbury, where in the evening we had a great meeting. And there came in the priest of the town with a great rabble of rude people; and the priest boasted that he would see whether he or I should have the victory. I turned the people to the Divine light, which Christ, the heavenly and spiritual man, hath enlightened them withal; that with that light they might see their sins, and that they were in death and darkness and without God in the world; and with the same light they might see Christ, from whom it came, their Saviour and Redeemer, who had shed his blood for them and died for them, and who was the way to God, the truth, and the life. Here the priest began to rage against the light and denied it; for neither priest nor professor could endure to hear the light spoken of.

At Badgley William Edmundson, a Friend that lived in Ireland, having some drawings upon his spirit to come over into England to see me, met with me; and by him I writ a few lines to those few Friends that were then convinced in the north of Ireland as followeth:—

"Friends:—In that which convinceth you wait, that you may have that removed you are convinced of. And all my dear Friends dwell in the life and love and power and wisdom of God, in unity one with another and with God. And the peace and wisdom of God fill all your hearts, that nothing may rule in you, but the life which stands in the Lord God. G. F."

When these few lines were read amongst the Friends in Ireland at their meeting, the power of the Lord seized upon them all that were in the room.

At Baldock when we went to our inn there were two desperate fellows fighting so furiously that none durst come nigh them to part them. But I was moved in the Lord's power to go to them, and when I had loosed their hands I held one of them by one hand and the other by the other hand; and I showed them the evil of their doings, and reconciled them one to the other, that they were loving and very thankful to me, so that people admired at it.

[For more than a year after he was set at liberty by the Protector, he was engaged in travelling through England, having meetings in many places. When in Cornwall, he and two other Friends were arrested by order of Major Ceely, and sent under a guard of soldiers, who treated them very roughly, to Lanceston jail. After nine weeks' imprisonment, till the assizes came on, they were brought before Chief Justice Glyn.]

In the afternoon we were had up again into the court by jailer and sheriff's men and troopers, who had a mighty toil to get us through the crowd of people. When we were in the court waiting to be called, I seeing both the jurymen and such a multitude of others swearing, it grieved

my life to see that such as professed Christianity should so openly disobey and break the command of Christ and the apostle. And I was moved of the Lord God to give forth a paper against swearing, which I had about me, to the grand and petty juries.

This paper passing among them from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the judge; so that when we were called before the judge he bid the clerk give me that paper, and then asked me whether that seditious paper was mine? I told him if they would read it up in open court that I might hear it, if it was mine I would own it and stand by it. He would have had me to have taken it, and looked upon it in my own hand; but I again desired that it might be read, that all the country might hear it, and judge whether there was any sedition in it or no; for if there were, I was willing to suffer for it. At last the clerk of the assize read it with an audible voice that all the people might hear it; and when he had done I told them it was my paper and I would own it, and so might they too except they would deny the Scripture; for was not this scripture language and the words and commands of Christ and the apostle, which all true Christians ought to obey? Then they let fall that subject, and the judge fell upon us about our hats again, bidding the jailer take them off, which he did, and gave them unto us, and we put them on again. Then we asked the judge and the justices, What we had lain in prison for these nine weeks, seeing they now objected nothing to us but about our hats? And as for putting off our hats, I told them, That was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much ado about it; the honour which is of men, and which men seek

one of another, and is the mark of unbelievers; for how can ye believe, saith Christ, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only? And Christ saith, I receive not honour from men; and all true Christians should be of his mind. Then the judge began to make a great speech, how he represented the Lord Protector's person; and he had made him lord chief justice of England, and sent him to come that circuit, etc. We desired him then that he would do us justice for our false imprisonment, which we had suffered nine weeks wrongfully. But instead of that they brought in an indictment that they had framed against us; such a strange thing and so full of lies that I thought it had been against some of the thieves: How that we came by force and arms and in an hostile manner into the court, and were brought as aforesaid. I told them it was all false; and still we cried for justice for our false imprisonment, being taken up in our journey without cause by Major Ceely. Then this Peter Ceely spake to the judge, and said, May it please you my lord, this man (pointing to me) went aside with me and told me how serviceable I might be for his design; that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning and involve the nation into blood, and so bring in King Charles; and I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. And, if it please you my lord, I have a witness to swear it. And so he called upon his witness. But the judge not being forward to examine the witness, I spake to the judge and desired that he would be pleased to let my mittimus be read in the face of the court and country, in which my crime was signified for which I was sent to prison. The judge said it should not

be read. I said it ought to be, seeing it concerned my liberty and my life. The judge said again, It shall not be read; but I said, It ought to be read, for if I have done anything worthy of death or of bonds, let all the country know it. Then seeing they would not read it, I spake to one of my fellow-prisoners, Thou hast a copy of it, read it up, said I. It shall not be read, said the judge; Jailer, said he, take him away; I'll see whether he or I shall be master. So I was taken away, and awhile after called for again. And I still cried to have my mittimus read up, for that signified the cause of my commitment. Wherefore I again spake to the friend, that was my fellow-prisoner, and bid him read it up; and he did read it up, and the judge, justices, and whole court were silent; for the people were eager to hear it; which is as followeth:—

"Peter Ceely, one of the justices of the peace of this county, to the keeper of his Highnesse's jail at Lanceston or his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting.

"I send you herewithal by the bearers hereof the bodies of Edward Pyot of Bristol and George Fox of Drayton and Clea, in Leicestershire, and William Salt of London; which they pretend to be the places of their habitations; who go under the notion of Quakers, and acknowledge themselves to be such; who have spread several papers tending to the disturbance of the public peace, and cannot render any lawful cause of coming into these parts, being persons altogether unknown, and having no pass for their travelling up and down the country, and refusing to give sureties of their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided, and refuse to take the oath of abju-

ration, etc. These are, therefore, in the name of his Highness the Lord Protector, to will and command you that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt shall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in his Highnesse's prison aforesaid you safely keep them, until by due course of law they shall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand and seal at St. Ives, the eighteenth day of January, 1655.

"P. CEELY."

When it was read, I spake thus to the judge and justices: Thou that sayest thou art chief-justice of England and you that be justices, ye know that if I had put in sureties I might have gone whether I pleased, and have carried on the design, if I had one, which Major Ceely hath charged me with. And if I had spoken those words to him which he hath here declared, then judge ye whether bail or mainprize could have been taken in that case. Then turning my speech to Major Ceely, I said, When or where did I take thee aside? Was not thy house full of rude people, and thou as rude as any of them at our examination, so that I asked for a constable or some other officer to keep the people civil? But if thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the bench? that is not a place for thee to sit in, for accusers do not use to sit with the judge. Thou oughtest to come down and stand by me, and look me in the face. Besides, I would ask the judge and justices this question, Whether or no Major Ceely is not guilty of this treason which he charges against me, in concealing it so long, as he hath done? Does he understand his place either as a soldier or a justice of the peace? For

he tells you here that I went aside with him and told him what a design I had in hand, and how serviceable he might be for my design; that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time, and bring in King Charles, and involve the nation into blood. He saith, moreover, he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go, and therefore he committed me to prison for want of sureties for the good behaviour, as the mittimus declares. Now, do not you see plainly that Major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason that he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it by desiring me to go out of the country and demanding bail of me, and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his devilish design. So that business was let fall; for the judge saw clear enough that instead of ensnaring me he had ensnared himself.

Then this Major Ceely got up again and said, If it please you, my lord, to hear me, this man struck me and gave me such a blow as I never had in my life. At this I smiled in my heart, and said, Major Ceely, art thou a justice of peace and a major of a troop of horse, and tells the judge here in the face of the court and country that I, who am a prisoner, struck thee and gave thee such a blow as thou never hadst the like in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, Major Ceely, said I, where did I strike thee? and who is thy witness for that? who was by? He said it was in the castle-green, and that Captain Bradden was standing by when I struck him. I desired the judge to let him produce his witness for that. And I called again upon Major Ceely to come down from off the bench, telling him it was not fit that the accuser should sit as

judge over the accused. Now when I called again for his witness, he said Captain Bradden was his witness. Then I said, Speak, Captain Bradden, did'st thou see me give him such a blow and strike him as he saith? Captain Bradden made no answer, but bowed his head towards me. I desired him to speak up if he knew any such thing, but he only bowed his head again. Nay, said I, speak up and let the court and country hear, and let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me; I fear not sufferings nor death itself; for I am an innocent man concerning all his charge. But Captain Bradden never testified to it. And the judge, finding those snares would not hold, cried, Take him away, jailer! And then, when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks apiece for not putting off our hats, and to be kept in prison till we paid it, and so sent us back to the jail again.

At night Captain Bradden came to see us, and seven or eight justices with him, who were very civil to us, and told us they did believe neither the judge nor any in the court did believe those charges which Major Ceely had charged upon me in the face of the country. And Captain Bradden said Major Ceely had an intent to have taken away my life, if he could have got another witness. But, said I, Captain Bradden, why did'st not thou witness for me or against me, seeing Major Ceely produced thee for a witness that thou sawest me strike him? And when I desired thee to speak either for me or against me, according to what thou sawest or knewest, thou would'st not speak. Why, said he, when Major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the castle-green, he put off his hat to you and said, How do you, Mr. Fox, your servant, sir? Then you said to him,

Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy and of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy master and thou my servant? Do servants use to cast their masters into prison? This was the great blow he meant that you gave him. Then I called to mind that they walked by us and that he spake to me as aforesaid, and I spake those words to him before mentioned; which hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness he manifested openly when he complained of this to the judge in open court and in the face of the country; and would have made them all believe that I struck him outwardly, with my hand.

Now the assize being over, and we settled in prison upon such a commitment as we were not likely to be soon released, we broke off from giving the jailer seven shillings a week apiece for our horses and seven shillings a week for ourselves, and sent our horses out into the country. Upon which the jailer grew very wicked and devilish, and put us down into Doomsdale, a nasty, stinking place where they used to put witches and murderers, after they were condemned to die. The place was so noisome, that it was observed few that went in did ever come out again in health; for there was no house of office in it, and the excrements of the prisoners that from time to time had been put there had not been carried out, as we were told, for many years. So that it was all like mire, and in some places to the top of the shoes; and he would not let us cleanse it, neither would he let us have beds or straw to lie on. In this manner were we fain to stay all night, for we could not sit down, the place was so full of filthy excrements. And a great while he kept us after this manner before he would let us cleanse it, or suffer us to have any victuals brought in but

what we got through the grate. One time a lass brought us a little meat, and he arrested her for breaking his house, and sued her in the town court for breaking the prison, and a great deal of trouble he put the young woman to; whereby others were so discouraged that we had much ado to get water or drink or victuals.

By this time the general quarter sessions drew nigh, and the jailer still carrying himself basely and wickedly towards us, we drew up our sufferings and sent it to the sessions at Bodmin. Upon the reading of which the justices gave order that Doomsdale door should be opened, and that we should have liberty to cleanse it, and to buy our meat in the town. We sent up a copy also of our sufferings to the Protector, setting forth how we were taken and committed by Major Ceely, and how we were abused by Captain Keat, and the rest in order. Whereupon the Protector sent down an order to Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis castle, to examine the matter about the soldiers abusing us and striking me. There were at that time many of the gentry of the country at the castle, and Captain Keat's kinsman that struck me was sent for before them and much threatened. They told him that if I should change my principle, I might take the extremity of the law against him, and might recover sound damages of him. Captain Keat also was checked for suffering the prisoners under his charge to be abused. This was of great service to the country; for afterwards Friends might have spoken in any market or steeple-house thereabouts, and none would meddle with them. I understood that Hugh Peters, who was one of the Protector's chaplains, told him they could not do George Fox a greater service

for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall than to imprison him there. And indeed my imprisonment there was of the Lord and for his service in those parts; for after the assizes were over, and it was known we were likely to continue prisoners, several Friends from most parts of the nation came into the country to visit us. And those parts of the west were very dark countries at that time; but the Lord's light and truth brake forth and shined over all, and many were turned from darkness to the light, and from satan's power unto God. And many were moved to go to the steeple-houses, and several were sent to prison to us, and a great convincement there began to be in the country.

Now in Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire truth began mightily to spread, and many were turned to Christ Jesus and his free teaching; for many Friends that came to visit us were drawn forth to declare the truth in those countries; which made the priests and professors rage, and they stirred up the magistrates to ensnare Friends. Then they set up watches in the streets and in the highways, on pretence of taking up all suspicious persons; under which colour they stopped and took up those Friends that travelled in and through those countries coming to visit us in prison; which they did, that the Friends might not pass up and down in the Lord's service. But that which they thought to have stopped the truth by, was the means of spreading it so much the more; for then Friends were frequently moved to speak to one constable and t'other officer and to the justices they were brought before; and this caused the truth to spread the more amongst them in all their parishes. And when Friends were got among the watches, it would be a fortnight or

three weeks before they could get out of them again; for no sooner had one constable taken them and carried them before the justices, and they had discharged them, but another would take them up and carry them before other justices; which put the country to a great deal of needless trouble and charges.

Now, from the sense I had of the snare that was laid, and mischief intended against the servants of the Lord in setting up those watches at that time to stop and take up Friends, it came upon me to give forth the following lines, as an exhortation and warning to the magistrates:—

"All ye powers of the earth, Christ is come to reign and is among you, and ye know Him not; who doth enlighten every one of you that are come into the world, that ye all through Him might believe; who is the light, who treads the wine-press alone without the city, whose feet are upon it. Therefore see all and examine with the light what ye are ripe for; for the press is ready for you. . . .

"Now, ye pretend liberty of conscience, yet shall not one carry a letter to a friend, nor men visit their friends, nor visit prisoners; nor carry a book about them, either for their own use or for their friends; and yet ye pretend liberty of conscience. Men shall not see their friends; but watches are set up against them to catch and stop them; and these must be well armed men too, against an innocent people, that have not so much as a stick in their hands, who are in a scorn called Quakers. Now these who set up the watches against them whom they in scorn call Quakers, it is, because they confess and witness the true light, that lighteth every one that cometh into the world, amongst people as they pass through the country or among

their friends. This is the dangerous doctrine which the watchmen are set up against, to subdue error, as they call it; which is the light that doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, Him by whom the world was made; who was glorified with the Father before the world began. Therefore, this is the word of the Lord God to you, and a charge to you all, in the presence of the living God of heaven and earth; every man of you being enlightened with a light that cometh from Christ, the Saviour of peoples' souls; from whom the light cometh that enlightens you; to the light all take heed, that with it you may all see Christ, from whom the light cometh — you may all see Him to be your Saviour, by whom the world was made, who saith, Learn of me. But if ye hate this light which Christ hath enlightened you withal, ye hate Christ. Remember, you are warned in your lifetime; for this is your way to salvation, the light, if you walk in it. And this is your condemnation, the light, if you reject and hate it. And you can never come to Christ, the second priest, unless you come to the light which the second priest hath enlightened you withal."

About this time I was moved to give forth a paper to Friends in the ministry, a part of which follows:—

"Friends:—In the power of life and wisdom and dread of the Lord God of life and heaven and earth dwell, that in the wisdom of God over all ye may be preserved, and be a terror to all the adversaries of God, and a dread, answering that of God in them all, spreading the truth abroad, awakening the witness, confounding the deceit, gathering up out of transgression into the life, the covenant of light and peace with God. Let all nations hear the sound by

word or writing. Spare no place, spare no tongue nor pen; but be obedient to the Lord God. Go through the work, and be valiant for the truth upon earth; tread and trample all that is contrary under. Ye have the power, do not abuse it; and strength and presence of the Lord, eye it, and the wisdom; that with it you may all be ordered to the glory of the Lord God.

"Bring all into the worship of God. Plow up the fallow ground; thresh and get out the corn; that the seed, the wheat, may be gathered into the barn; that to the beginning all people may come, to Christ, that was before the world was made. Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come; that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them; then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one; whereby in them ye may be a blessing, and make the witness of God in them to bless you; then to the Lord God you will be a sweet savour and a blessing."

While I was in prison in Lanceston, there was a Friend went to Oliver Cromwell and offered himself body for body to lie in Doomsdale prison for me, or in my stead, if he would take him and let me go at liberty. Which thing so struck him, that he said to his great men and council, Which of you would do so much for me if I were in the same condition? And though he did not accept of the Friend's proffer, but said he could not do it, for that it was contrary to law, yet, however, the truth thereby came mightily over him. A good while after this, he sent down Major-General Desborow, pretending to set us at liberty. And when he came he proffered us, if we would say we would go home

and preach no more we should have our liberty; but we could not promise him so. Then he urged that we should promise to go home if the Lord permit. Whereupon Edward Pyot writ him a letter, [in which he says:—]

"Although we cannot covenant or condition to go forth of these parts, or to do this or that thing if the Lord permit, (for that were to do the will of man by God's permission) yet 't is like we may pass forth of these parts in the liberty of the will of God as we may be severally moved and guided by the pure power, and not of necessity."

[Some time afterwards George Fox wrote him a letter, in which he says:—]

"To say, We will if the Lord permit, in a case of buying and selling to get gain, if the intent be so to do, may be done; but we standing in the power of God to do his will, and to stand out of man's will, if man propound we shall have our liberty, if we will say we will go to our outward being if the Lord permit, if it be the will of God . . . when we know that the will of God is, we shall go to speak at some other place; here we cannot say these words truly. . . . And we who are moved of the Lord to go to any other place, we standing in his will, and being moved by his power, which comprehends all things and is not to be limited, we shall do his will, which we are commanded to do. So the Lord God open your understandings, that you may see this great power of the Lord . . . that ye may not withstand it in our Friends that are come into the power of God, and to God, and know Him . . . who is the power of God, who doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world. Now our Friends being come to this light which cometh from Christ, . . . we have received wisdom and power

from Him. . . . If thou send a liberate and set us free, we shall not stay in prison; for Israel is to go out free, whose freedom is purchased by the power of God and the blood of Jesus. But who goeth out of the power of God loseth his freedom."

We understood afterwards that he left the business to Colonel Bennet, who had the command of the gaol. For some time after Bennet would have set us at liberty, if we would have paid his jailer's fees; but we told him we could give the jailer no fees, for we were innocent sufferers. At last the power of the Lord came so over him that he freely set us at liberty.

We came through the countries to Exeter, where many Friends were in prison, and amongst the rest James Nayler. For a little before the time that we were set at liberty, James run out into imagination and a company with him, and they raised up a great darkness in the nation. He was coming to Lanceston to see me, but was stopped by the way and imprisoned at Exeter. That night that we came to Exeter I spake with James Nayler, for I saw he was out and wrong, and so was his company. The next day being the First day of the week, we went to the prison to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Nayler and some of them could not stay the meeting. The next day I spake to James Nayler again, and he slighted what I said, and was dark and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said, since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his shew of kindness. So the Lord God moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit

risen up amongst Friends to war against. But he came to see his outgoing and to condemn it, and after some time he returned to truth again, as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery may be more fully seen.

On the First day morning I went to the meeting at Broadmead, at Bristol, and a great meeting there was and quiet. Notice was given of a meeting to be in the afternoon in the orchard. There was at Bristol a rude Baptist, named Paul Gwin, who had used before to make great disturbance in our meetings, being encouraged and set on by the mayor, who, as it was reported, would sometimes give him his dinner to encourage him. And such multitudes of rude people would he gather after him, that it was thought there had been sometimes ten thousand people at our meeting in the orchard. As I was going along into the orchard the people told me, That Paul Gwin, the rude, jangling Baptist was going to the meeting. But I bid them never heed, it was nothing to me who went to it. When I was come into the orchard, I stood upon the stone that Friends used to stand on when they spake, and I was moved of the Lord to put off my hat and to stand a pretty while; and let the people look at me; for some thousands of people were there. While I thus stood silent, this rude Baptist began to find fault with my hair; but I said nothing to him. Then he run on into words, and at last, Ye wise men of Bristol, said he, I strange at you that you will stand here and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good. Then the Lord opened my mouth (for as yet I had not spoken a word), and I asked the people whether they ever heard me speak before, or ever saw me before.

And I bid them take notice what kind of a man this was amongst them that should so impudently say that I spake and affirmed that which I could not make good; and yet neither he nor they ever heard me or saw me before. Therefore that was a lying, envious, malicious spirit that spake in him, and it was of the devil and not of God. Therefore I charged him in the dread and power of the Lord to be silent. And the mighty power of God came over him, and all his company. And then a glorious, peaceable meeting we had, and the word of life was divided amongst them, and they were turned from the darkness to the light and to Jesus their Saviour. And the Scriptures were largely opened to them, and the traditions and rudiments and ways and doctrines of men were laid open before the people, which they had been in; and they were turned to the light of Christ, that with it they might see them, and see Him to lead them out of them. I opened also to them the types and figures and shadows of Christ in the time of the law, and showed them that Christ was come, and had ended the types and shadows and tithes and oaths, and put down swearing, and had set yea and nay instead of it, and a free ministry; for He was now come to teach people himself, and his heavenly day was springing from on high. So for many hours did I declare the word of life amongst them in the eternal power of God, that by Him they might come up into the beginning, and be reconciled to Him. And having turned them to the Spirit of God in themselves, that would lead into all truth, I was moved to pray in the mighty power of God, and the Lord's power came over all. But when I had done, this fellow began to babble again; and John Audland was moved to

bid him repent and fear God. So his own people and followers being ashamed of him, he passed away, and never came again to disturb the meeting. And the meeting brake up quietly, and the Lord's power and glory shined over all. A blessed day it was, and the Lord had the praise.

On the First day following, we went to Nathaniel Crips, his house, who had been a justice of peace in Wiltshire, where it was supposed there were between two and three thousand people at a meeting, and all was quiet. And the mighty power of God was manifest; and people were turned to the grace and truth in their hearts, that came by Jesus Christ, which would teach them to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and godly in this present world. So that every man and woman might know the grace of God, which had appeared to all men, and which was saving, and sufficient to bring their salvation. This was to be their teacher, the grace of God, which would teach them how to live, what to do, and what to deny; and would season their words and establish their hearts. And this was a free teacher to every one of them; so that they might come to be heirs of this grace, and of Christ by whom it came, who hath ended the prophets and the priests that took tithes and the Jewish temple. And as for these hireling priests that take tithes now, and their temples (which priests were made at schools and colleges of man's setting up, and not by Christ) they, with all their inventions, were to be denied. For the apostles denied the true priesthood and temple which God had commanded, after Christ had put an end thereto. So the Scriptures and the truths therein contained were largely opened, and the people turned to the Spirit of God in their hearts, that

by it they might be led into all truth, and understand the Scriptures, and know God and Christ, and come to have unity with them and one with another in the same Spirit. And the people went away generally satisfied, and were glad that they were turned to Christ Jesus, their teacher and Saviour.

We rode to London. And when we came near Hide-park we saw a great concourse of people, and looking towards them we espied the Protector coming in his coach. Whereupon I rode up to his coach-side, and some of his life-guard would have put me away, but he forbade them. So I rode down by his coach-side with him, declaring what the Lord gave me to say unto him of his condition, and of the sufferings of Friends in the nation, showing him how contrary this persecution was to Christ and his apostles, and to Christianity. When we were come to James' park gate, I left him, and at parting he desired me to come to his house. The next day one of his wife's maids, whose name was Mary Sanders, came up to me at my lodging and said, her master came to her and told her he would tell her some good news. And when she asked him what it was, he told her George Fox was come to town. She replied that was good news indeed (for she was one that had received truth), but she said she could hardly believe him till he told her how I met him and rode from Hide-park down to James' park with him.

After a little time Edward Pyot and I went to Whitehall; and when we came before him there was one called Dr. Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford with him. We were moved to speak to Oliver Cromwell concerning the sufferings of Friends, and laid them before him; and directed

him to the light of Christ, who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world. And he said it was a natural light, but we showed him the contrary, and manifested that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ, the spiritual and heavenly man; and that which was called the life in Christ the word, was called the light in us. The power of the Lord God arose in me, and I was moved in it to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus. Several times I spake to him to the same effect. Now I was standing by the table, and he came and sate upon the table's side by me, and said he would be as high as I was; and so continued speaking against the light of Christ Jesus, and went his way in a light manner. But the Lord's power came over him; so that when he came to his wife and other company he said, I never parted so from them before; for he was judged in himself.

After he had left us, as we were going out, many of his great persons came about us, and one of them began to speak against the light and against the truth, and I was made to slight him for speaking so lightly of the things of God. Whereupon one of them told me he was the major-general of Northamptonshire. What! said I, our old persecutor that has persecuted and sent so many of our friends to prison, and is a shame to Christianity and religion! I am glad I have met with thee, said I. And so I was moved to speak sharply to him of his unchristian carriages, and he slunk away; for he had been a cruel persecutor in Northamptonshire.

After I was released out of Lanceston jail, I was moved of the Lord to travel over most parts of the nation, the truth being now spread and finely planted in most places;

that I might answer and remove out of the minds of people some objections, which the envious priests and professors had raised and spread abroad concerning us. [Among others,] that the Quakers denied the sacrament (as they called it) of bread and wine, which, they said, they were to take and do in remembrance of Christ to the end of the world. Christ said, Do this in remembrance of me. He did not tell them how oft they should do it, or how long; neither did He enjoin them to do it always, as long as they lived, or that all believers in Him should do it to the world's end. The apostle Paul, who was not converted till after Christ's death, tells the Corinthians, That he had received of the Lord that which he delivered unto them concerning this matter. And he relates Christ's words concerning the cup thus: This do ye as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me. And himself adds, For as often as ye do eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come. So according to what the apostle here delivers, neither Christ nor he did injoin people to do this always, but leaves it to their liberty, as oft as ye drink it, etc. Now the Jews did use to take a cup, and to break bread, and divide it among them in their feasts, as may be seen in the Jewish antiquities; so that the breaking of bread and drinking of wine were Jewish rites, which were not to last always. And as the apostle said, As oft as ye do eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show forth the Lord's death till He come. So Christ had said before, That He was the bread of life which came down from heaven, and that He would come and dwell in them; which the apostles did witness fulfilled, and exhorted others to seek for that which comes down from above. But the outward bread and wine

and water are not from above but from below. Now ye that eat and drink this outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, and have your fellowships in that, will ye come no nearer to Christ's death than to take bread and wine in remembrance of his death? After ye have eaten in remembrance of his death ye must come into his death, and die with Him as the apostles did if ye will live with Him. And this is a nearer and further state, to be with Him in the fellowship of his death, than only to take bread and wine in remembrance of his death. You must have a fellowship with Christ in his sufferings; if ye will reign with Him ye must suffer with Him; if ye will live with Him ye must die with Him; and if ye die with Him ye must be buried with Him; and being buried with Him in the true baptism ye also rise with Him. Then having suffered with Him, died with Him, and been buried with Him, if ye are risen with Christ seek those things which are above where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Eat the bread which comes down from above, which is not outward bread; and drink the cup of salvation, which He gives in his kingdom, which is not outward wine. And then there will be not a looking at the things that are seen (as outward bread and wine and water are); for, as says the apostle, The things that are seen are temporal; but the things that are not seen are eternal. So the fellowship that stands in the use of bread, wine, water, circumcision, outward temple, and things seen, will have an end. But the fellowship which stands in the gospel, the power of God which was before the devil was, and which brings life and immortality to light, by which people may see over the devil that has darkened them; this fellowship is eternal

and will stand. And all that are in it do seek that which is heavenly and eternal, which comes down from above, and are settled in the eternal mystery of the fellowship of the gospel, which is hid from all eyes that look only at visible things. And the apostle told the Corinthians, who were in disorder about water, bread, and wine, that he desired to know nothing amongst them but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

And as things were thus opened, people came to see over them and through them, and to have their minds settled upon the Lord Jesus Christ their free teacher; which was the service for which I was moved to travel over the nation after my imprisonment in Lanceston jail. For in this year the Lord's truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord; insomuch that there were seldom fewer than one thousand in prison in this nation for truth's testimony.

Now after I had visited most parts of the nation and was come back to London again, finding that evil spirit at work which had drawn J. N. and his followers out from truth, to run Friends into heats upon him, I writ a short epistle to Friends:—

. . . "Go not forth to the aggravating part, to strive with it out of the power of God; lest ye hurt yourselves, and run into the same nature, out of the life. For patience must get the victory . . . For that which reacheth to the aggravating part without life sets up the aggravating part, and breeds confusion; and hath a life in outward strife, but reacheth not to the witness of God in every one, through which they might come into peace and covenant with God and fellowship one with another. Therefore that which

reacheth this witness of God in yourselves and in others, is the life and light, which will outlast all, and is over all, and will overcome all. And therefore in the seed of life live, which bruiseth the seed of death.

"G. F."

And inasmuch as about this time many mouths were opened in our meetings to declare the goodness of the Lord, and some that were young and tender in the truth would sometimes utter a few words in thanksgiving and praises to God; that no disorder might arise from thence in our meetings, I was moved to write an epistle to Friends by way of advice in that matter. And thus it was:—

"All my dear Friends in the noble seed of God, and who have known his power, life, and presence among you, let it be your joy to hear or see the springs of life break forth in any, through which ye have all unity in the same, feeling life and power. And above all things take heed of judging any one openly in your meetings, except they be openly prophane or rebellious, such as be out of the truth; that by the power, life, and wisdom ye may stand over them, and by it answer the witness of God in the world, that such whom you bear your testimony against is none of you. So that therein the truth may stand clear and single. But such as are tender, if they should be moved to bubble forth a few words and speak in the seed and Lamb's power, suffer and bear that, that is, the tender. And if they should go beyond their measure, bear it in the meeting for peace and order's sake, and that the spirits of the world be not moved against you. But when the meeting is done, then if any be moved to speak to them, between you and them, one or two of you that feel it in the

life, do it in the love and wisdom that is pure and gentle from above; for the love is that which doth edify, and bear all things, and suffers long, and doth fulfil the law. So in this ye have order and edification, ye have wisdom to preserve you all wise and in patience; which takes away the occasion of stumbling the weak, and the occasion of the spirits of the world to get up. But in the royal seed, the heavy stone, ye keep down all that is wrong, and by it answer that of God in all, and keep down the bad. For ye will hear, see, and feel the power of God preaching, as your faith is all in it (when ye do not hear words) to bind, to chain, to limit, to frustrate; that nothing shall rise nor come forth but what is in the power; for with that ye will hold back and with that ye will let up, and open every spring, plant, and spark, in which will be your joy and refreshment (as I said before) in the power of God." . . .

Having staid some time in London, and visited the meetings of Friends in and about the city, and cleared myself of what services the Lord had at that time laid upon me there, I left the town. We travelled on through the country till we came to Exeter, and there, at the sign of the Seven Stars, an inn at the bridge foot, we had a general meeting of Friends out of Cornwall and Devonshire, to which came Humphry Lower and Thomas Lower, and John Ellis from the Land's end, and Henry Pollexsen, and Friends from Plymouth, Elizabeth Trelawny, and divers other Friends. A blessed, heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all, in which I saw and said, That the Lord's power had surrounded this nation round about as with a wall and bulwark; and his seed reached from sea to sea. And Friends were established in

the everlasting seed of life, Christ Jesus, their life, rock, teacher, and shepherd.

We passed still on through the countries, having meetings and gathering people in the name of Christ, their heavenly teacher. We went to a great meeting in a steeple-house yard, where was a priest, and Walter Jenkin who had been a justice, and another justice; and a blessed, glorious meeting we had. And there being many professors, I was moved of the Lord to open the Scriptures to them, and to answer the objections which they stuck at in their profession (for I knew them very well), and to turn them to Christ, who had enlightened them; with which light they might see their sins and trespasses they had been dead in, and their Saviour, Him that came to redeem them out of them, who was to be their way to God, the truth and the life to them, and their priest made higher than the heavens, so that they might come to sit under his teaching. A peaceable meeting we had, and many were convinced and settled in the truth that day. After the meeting was over, I went with Walter Jenkin to the other justice's house, and he said unto me, You have this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered all the objections that were in their minds. For the people had the Scriptures, but they were not turned to the Spirit which should let them see that which gave them forth, the Spirit of God, which is the key to open them.

We passed up into Wales through Montgomeryshire, and so into Radnorshire, where there was a meeting like a leaguer for multitudes. I walked a little aside whilst the people were gathering, and there came to me John ap John, a Welchman, whom I spake to, to go up to the people; and

if he had anything upon him from the Lord to speak to them, he might speak to them in Welch, and thereby gather them more together. Then came Morgan Watkins to me, who was then become loving to Friends, and said he, The people lie like a leaguer, and the gentry of the country is come in. I bade him go up also, and leave me; for I had a great travel upon me for the salvation of the people. When they were well gathered together, I passed up into the meeting and stood upon a chair about three hours. And I stood a pretty while before I began to speak. After some time I felt the power of the Lord went over the whole assembly; and the Lord's everlasting life and truth shined over all; and the Scriptures were opened to them, and the objections they had in their minds were answered. And they were, every one, directed to the light of Christ, the heavenly man; that by it they might all see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their mediator, and come to feed upon Him, the bread of life from heaven. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ and to his free teaching that day, and all were bowed down under the power of God; so that, though the multitude was so great that many sate on horseback to hear, there was no opposition made by any. And a priest sate with his wife on horseback and heard attentively, and made no objection. But the people parted peaceably and quietly, with great satisfaction; many of them saying, They never heard such a sermon before and the Scriptures so opened. And the Lord had the praise of all, for many were turned to Him that day.

From this place I travelled on in Wales, having several meetings as I went, till I came to Tenby, where, as I rode

up the street, a justice of peace came out of his house and desired me to alight and stay at his house, and I did so. On the First day the mayor and his wife and several others of the chief of the town came in about the tenth hour, and stayed all the time of the meeting; and a glorious meeting it was. John ap John, being then with me, left the meeting and went to the steeple-house; and the governor cast him into prison. On the second day morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's house to fetch me, which grieved the mayor and the justice; for they were both with me in the justice's house when the officer came. So the mayor and the justice went up to the governor before me, and a while after I went up with the officer. When I came in I said, Peace be unto this house. And before the governor could examine me I asked him, Why he did cast my friend into prison? He said, For standing with his hat on in the church. I said, Had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? and cut off the brims of the hat, and then my friend would have but one, and the brims of the hat were but to defend him from weather. These are frivolous things, said the governor. Why then, said I, dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things? Then he asked whether I owned election and reprobation? Yes, said I, and thou art in the reprobation. At that he was in a rage, and said he would send me to prison till I proved it. But I told him I would prove that quickly if he would confess truth. Then I asked him whether wrath, fury, and rage, and persecution were not marks of reprobation? for he that was born of the flesh persecuted him that was born of the spirit; but Christ and his disciples never persecuted nor

imprisoned any. Then he fairly confessed that he had too much wrath, hate, and passion in him. And I told him, Esau was up in him, the first birth; not Jacob, the second birth. The Lord's power so reached the man and came over him that he confessed to truth; and the other justice came and shook me kindly by the hand.

As I was passing away, I was moved to speak to the governor again; and he invited me to dinner with him, and set my friend at liberty. I went back to the other justice's house. And after some time the mayor and his wife, and the justice and his wife, and divers other Friends of the town went about half a mile out of the town with us to the water-side, when we went away; and there, when we parted from them, I was moved of the Lord to kneel down with them and pray to the Lord to preserve them. So after I had recommended them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power; and the Lord had the glory. And there is a meeting continues in that town to this day.

As we travelled in Wales we came to an hill, which the people of the country say is two or three miles high; from the side of this hill I could see a great way. And I was moved to set my face several ways, and to sound the day of the Lord there. And I told John ap John (a faithful Welsh minister) in what places God would raise up a people to himself to sit under his own teaching. Those places he took notice of, and since there hath a great people arisen in those places. The like I have been moved to do in many other places and countries, which have been rude places, and yet I have been moved to declare that the Lord had a seed in those places; and afterwards there hath

been a brave people raised up in the covenant of God, and gathered in the name of Jesus, where they have salvation and free teaching.

From this hill we came down to a place called Dolegelle, and we went to an inn; and John ap John declared through the streets, and the town's people rose and gathered about him. And there being two Independent priests in the town they both came out and discoursed with him both together. I went up to them, and, finding them speaking in Welsh, I asked them, What was the subject they spake upon, and why they were not more moderate and spake one by one? For the things of God, I told them, were weighty, and they should speak of them with fear and reverence. Then I desired them to speak in English, that I might discourse with them; and they did so. Now they affirmed, That the light, which John came to bear witness of, was a created, natural, made light. But I took the Bible and showed them (as I had done to others before), That the natural lights, which were made and created, were the sun, moon, and stars; but this light, which John bare witness to, and which he called the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, is the life in Christ the Word, by which all things were made and created. The same that is called the life in Christ is called the light in man; and this is an heavenly, divine light which lets men see their evil words and deeds, and shows them all their sins; and (if they would attend unto it) would bring them to Christ (from whom it comes) that they might know Him to save them from their sin, and to blot it out. This light, I told them, shined in the darkness in their hearts, and the darkness in them could not comprehend it; but in those hearts where

God had commanded it to shine out of darkness it gave unto such the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus, their Saviour. Then I opened the Scriptures largely to them, and turned to the Spirit of God in their hearts, which would reveal the mysteries in the Scriptures to them, and would lead them into all the truth thereof as they became subject thereunto. I directed them to that which would give every one of them the knowledge of Christ, who died for them, that He might be their way to God, and might make peace betwixt God and them. The people were attentive, and I spake to John ap John to stand up and speak it in Welsh to them, which he did; and they generally received it, and with hands lifted up blessed and praised God. The priests' mouths were stopped so that they were quiet all the while; for I had brought them to be sober at the first by telling them, That when they speak of the things of God and of Christ they should speak with fear and reverence. Thus the meeting brake up in peace in the street; and many of the people accompanied us to our inn and rejoiced in the truth that had been declared unto them, that they were turned to the light and spirit in themselves by which they might see their sin and know salvation from it. And when we went out of the town, the people were so affected that they lifted up their hands and blessed the Lord for our coming. A precious seed the Lord hath thereaways, and a great people in those parts is since gathered to the Lord Jesus Christ to sit down under his free teaching, and have suffered much for Him.

I was moved to give forth the following epistle to Friends

to stir them up to be bold and valiant for the truth, and to encourage them in their sufferings for it:

"All friends and brethren everywhere, Now is the day of your trial, and now is the time for you to be valiant, and to see that the testimony of the Lord doth not fall. For now is the day of exercise of your gifts, of your patience, and of your faith. Now is the time to be armed with patience, with the light and with the righteousness, and with the helmet of salvation. And now is the trial of the slothful servant who hides his talent and will judge Christ hard. Now, happy are they that can say, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, and He gives the increase; and therefore, who takes it from you? Is it not the Lord still that suffers it? For the Lord can try you, as He did Job, whom He made rich, whom He made poor, and whom he made rich again, who still kept his integrity in all conditions. So learn Paul's lesson, In all states to be content; and have his faith, That nothing is able to separate us from the love of God, which we have in Christ Jesus. . . So keep your tabernacles, that there ye may see the glory of the Lord appear at the doors thereof. And be faithful; for ye see what the worthies and valiants of the Lord did attain unto by faith. . . And in this neither powers, principalities, nor thrones, dominions nor angels, nor things present, nor things to come, nor heights, nor depths, nor death, mockings, nor spoiling of goods, nor prisons, nor fetters were able to separate them from the love of God which they had in Christ Jesus. And, friends, quench not the Spirit, nor despise prophesying, where it moves, neither hinder the babes and sucklings from crying, Hosannah; for out of their mouths will God ordain strength.

There were some in Christ's day that were against such, whom He reproved; and there were some in Moses his day who would have stopped the prophets in the camp, whom Moses reproved, and said in way of encouragement to them, Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets! So I say now to you. Therefore ye that stop it in yourselves, do not quench it in others, neither in babe nor suckling; for the Lord hears the cries of the needy, and the sighs and groans of the poor. Judge not that, nor the sighs and groans of the spirit which cannot be uttered, lest ye judge prayer; for prayer as well lies in sighs and groans to the Lord as otherwise. So let not the sons and daughters nor the handmaidens be stopped in their prophesyings, nor the young men in their visions, nor the old men in their dreams; but let the Lord be glorified in and through all, who is over all, God blessed forever! So that every one may improve their talents, and every one exercise their gifts, and every one speak as the Spirit gives them utterance. Thus every one may minister, as he hath received the grace, as a good steward to him that hath given it him, so that all plants may bud and bring forth fruit to the glory of God; for the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every one to profit withal. So see that every one hath profited in heavenly things; male and female look into your own vineyards and see what fruit ye bear to God; look into your own houses, see how they are decked and trimmed, and see what odors, myrrh, and frankincense ye have therein, and what a smell and savour ye have to ascend to God, that He may be glorified. So bring your deeds all to the light, which ye are taught to believe in by Christ, your head, the heavenly man, and see how they are wrought in God. And every

male and female, let Christ dwell in your hearts by faith (Christ in the male and in the female); and let your mouths be opened to the glory of God the Father, that He may rule and reign in you. We must not have Christ Jesus, the Lord of life, put any more in a stable amongst the horses and asses; but He must now have the best chamber, the heart, and the rude, debauched spirit must be turned out. Therefore let Him reign whose right it is, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, by which Holy Ghost ye call him Lord, in which Holy Ghost ye pray, and by which Holy Ghost ye have comfort and fellowship with the Son and with the Father. . .

"And, Friends, be careful how ye set your feet among the tender plants that are springing up out of God's earth, lest ye do tread upon them, and hurt them, and bruise them, or crush them in God's vineyard."

I travelled on northwards, visiting Friends' meetings as I went, till I came to Stricklandhead, where I had a great meeting. And most of the gentry of that country being gathered to an horse-race not far off from the meeting, I was moved to go and declare the truth unto them.

I passed from hence to a general meeting at Langlands in Cumberland, which was very large; for most of the people had so forsaken the priests that the steeple-houses in some places stood empty. And John Wilkinson, a preacher that I have often named before, who had three steeple-houses, had so few hearers left that, giving over preaching in the steeple-houses, he first set up a meeting in his house, and preached there to them that were left. Afterwards he set up a silent meeting (like Friends), to which came a few; for most of his hearers were come off

to Friends. Thus he held on till he had not past half a dozen left, the rest still forsaking him and coming away to Friends. At last, when he had so very few left, he would come to Pardsey-Crag (where Friends had a meeting of several hundreds of people, who were all come to sit under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching), and he would walk about the meeting on the First days like a man that went about the commons to look for sheep. Now, during this time I came to this Pardsey-Crag meeting, and he, with three or four of his followers that were yet left to him, came to the meeting that day, and they were all thoroughly convinced. After the meeting was done Priest Wilkinson asked me two or three questions, which I answered him to his satisfaction; and from that time he came amongst Friends to their meetings and became an able minister, and preached the Gospel freely, and turned many to Christ's free teaching. And after he had continued many years in the free ministry of Christ Jesus, he died in the year 1675.

I had for some time felt drawings on my spirit to go into Scotland, and had sent to one Colonel William Osborn, of Scotland, desiring him to come and meet me; and he, with some others with him, were come out of Scotland to this meeting. So after the meeting was over (which, he said, was the most glorious meeting that ever he saw in his life) I passed with him and those others that were with him into Scotland, having Robert Widders with me, who was a thundering man against hypocrisy and deceit and the rottenness of the priests.

Many of the Scotch priests, being greatly disturbed at the spreading of truth and loss of their hearers thereby, were gone up to Edinburgh to petition the Council

against me. An officer belonging to the Council came to me and brought me the following order:

Thursday, the 8th of October, 1657, at his Highness's Council in Scotland.

Ordered,

That George Fox do appear before the Council on Tuesday, the 13th of October next, in the forenoon.

E. Downing, Clerk of the Council.

When the time came I appeared. When I was come in and had stood awhile and they said nothing to me, I was moved of the Lord to say, Peace be amongst you, and wait in the fear of God, that ye may receive his wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created, that by it ye may all be ordered, and may order all things under your hands to God's glory. After I had done speaking they asked me, What was the occasion of my coming into that nation? I told them, I came to visit the seed of God which had long lain in bondage under corruption; and the intent of my coming was that in all the nation that did profess the Scriptures, the words of Christ, and of the prophets and apostles, might come to the light, Spirit, and power which they were in who gave them forth, that so in and by the Spirit they might understand the Scriptures, and know Christ and God aright, and have fellowship with them and one with another. They bid me withdraw, and the doorkeeper took me by the hand and led me forth. In a little time they sent for me again and told me, I must depart the nation of Scotland by that day seven-night. I asked them, Why? What had I done? What was my transgression that they passed such a sentence upon me to depart out of the nation? They told me, They would not

dispute with me. Then I desired them to hear what I had to say to them; but they said, They would not hear me. I told them Pharaoh heard Moses and Aaron, and yet he was an heathen, and no Christian; and Herod heard John Baptist: and they should not be worse than these. But they cried, Withdraw, withdraw. Whereupon the door-keeper took me again by the hand and led me out. Then I returned to my inn and continued still in Edinburgh, visiting Friends there and thereabouts, and strengthening them in the Lord.

After I had spent some time among Friends at Edinburgh and thereabouts I passed from thence to Heads again, where Friends had been in great sufferings; for the Presbyterian priests had excommunicated them and given charge, That none should buy or sell with them, nor eat nor drink with them. So they could neither sell their commodities nor buy what they wanted, which made it go very hard with some of them.

We passed through several other places in the country till we came to Johnstons, where were several Baptists that were very bitter, and came, in a rage, to dispute with us: vain janglers and disputers indeed they were. And when they could not prevail by disputing they went and informed the Governor against us, and next morning they raised a whole company of foot and banished me, and Alexander Parker, and James Lancaster, and Robert Widders out of the town. As they guarded us through the town James Lancaster was moved to sing with a melodious sound in the power of God, and I was moved to proclaim the day of the Lord and preach the everlasting Gospel to the people.

Being thus thrust out of Johnstons we went to another market-town. Alexander Parker went up and stood upon the market cross with a Bible in his hand, and declared the truth amongst the soldiers and market people, but the Scots, being a dark, carnal people, gave little heed, nor hardly took notice what was said. After awhile I was moved of the Lord God to stand up at the cross, and to declare with a loud voice the everlasting truth and the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness. And the people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them, and had enlightened them, that with his light they might all see their evil deeds, and be saved from their sins by Him, and might come to know Him to be their teacher. But if they would not receive Christ, and own Him, it was told them that this light which came from Him would be their condemnation.

At Leith the inn-keeper told me, That the Council had granted forth warrants to apprehend me, because I was not gone out of the nation after the seven days were expired, that they had ordered me to depart the nation in; several friendly people also came and told me the same. To whom I said, What do ye tell me of their warrants against me? If there were a cart-load of them I do not heed them, for the Lord's power is over them all.

So I went from Leith up to Edinburgh again, where they said the warrants from the Council were out against me.

I went up to the meeting in the city, Friends having notice that I would be at it. There came many officers and soldiers to it, and a glorious meeting it was; and the everlasting power of God was set over the nation, and his

Son reigned in his glorious power; and all was quiet, and no man offered to meddle with me. When the meeting was ended, and I had visited Friends, I came out of the city to my inn again, and the next day, being the second day of the week, we set forward through the country towards the borders of England.

As we travelled along the country I spied a steeple-house, and it struck at my life. I asked, What steeple-house it was? and was answered that it was Dunbar. When I came thither, and had set up at an inn, I walked up to the steeple-house, having a Friend or two with me. When we came into the steeple-house-yard one of the chief men of the town was walking there. So I spake to one of the Friends that was with me, To go to him and tell him that about the ninth hour next morning there would be a meeting there of the people of God called Quakers, of which we desired he would give notice to the people of the town. He sent me word, That they were to have a lecture there by the ninth hour, but that we might have our meeting there by the eighth hour if we would. We concluded so, and desired him to give notice of it. Accordingly in the morning both poor and rich came. And there being a captain of horse quartered in the town he and his troopers came also, so that we had a large meeting; and a glorious meeting it was, the Lord's power being set over all. After some time the priest came and went into the steeple-house, but we being in the steeple-house yard, most of the people staid with us. And Friends were so full, and their voices so high in the power of God, that the priest could do little in the steeple-house, but came quickly out again and stood awhile and then went his way. For after I had opened to

the people, Where they might find Christ Jesus, having turned them to the light which He had enlightened them withal, that in the light they might see Christ that died for them, and turn to Him, and know Him to be their Saviour and free teacher, and had let them see that all the teachers they had hitherto followed were hirelings who made the gospel chargeable, and had showed them the wrong ways they had walked in, in the night of apostacy; and had directed them to Christ, the new and living way to God; and had manifested unto them how they had lost the religion and worship which Christ set up in spirit and truth, and had hitherto been in the religions and worships of men's making and setting up; and after I had turned the people to the Spirit of God, which led the holy men of God to give forth the Scriptures; and showed them that they must also come to receive and be led by the same spirit in themselves (a measure of which was given unto every one of them), if ever they came to know God and Christ and the Scriptures aright: perceiving the other Friends that were with me to be full of the power and word of the Lord, I stepped down, giving way for them to declare what they had from the Lord to say unto the people. This was the last meeting I had in Scotland. And the truth and the power of God was set over that nation, and many by the power and Spirit of God were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and teacher, whose blood was shed for them. And since there is a great increase, and great there will be in Scotland. For when first I set my horse's feet upon the Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me, like innumerable sparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick, cloddy earth of hypocrisy and false-

ness that is a top and a briary, brambly nature, which is to be burned up with God's word, and plowed up with his spiritual plow before God's seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to his glory. But the husbandman is to wait in patience.

From thence we came to Durham, where was a man come down from London to set up a college there to make ministers of Christ, as they said. I went with some others to reason with the man and to let him see, That to teach men Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the seven arts which was all but the teachings of the natural man, was not the way to make them ministers of Christ. Then we showed him further, That Christ made his ministers himself, and gave gifts unto them, and bid them pray to the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers. And Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant (as to school learning), preached Christ Jesus the word, which was in the beginning. Paul also was made an apostle not of man nor by man, neither received he the Gospel from man, but from Jesus Christ, who is the same now, and so is the Gospel as it was at that day. When we had thus discoursed with the man he became very loving and tender, and after he had considered further of it he never set up his college.

We went into Warwickshire, and thence passing through some parts of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, visiting Friends and having meetings with them as we travelled, we came into Bedfordshire, where we had large gatherings in the name of Jesus. After some time we came to John Crook's house, where a general Yearly Meeting for the whole nation was appointed to be held. This meeting lasted three days, and many Friends from most parts of the

nation came to it, so that the inns and towns round thereabouts were filled; for many thousands of people were at it. And although there were some disturbance by some rude people that had run out from truth, yet the Lord's power came over all, and a glorious meeting it was. And the everlasting gospel was preached, and many received it (for there were many sorts of professors came to the meeting), which gospel brought life and immortality to light in them and shined over all.

Then I was moved by the power and Spirit of the Lord to open unto them the promise of God, how that it was made to the seed, not to seeds as many, but to one, which seed was Christ. And that all people, both males and females, should feel this seed in them, which was heir of the promise, that so they might all witness Christ in them, the hope of glory, the mystery which had been hid from ages and generations, which was revealed to the apostles, and is revealed again now after this long night of apostacy. So that all might come up into this seed, Christ Jesus, and walk in it and sit down together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, who was the foundation of the prophets and apostles, and the rock of ages, and is our foundation now. And all sitting down in Him sit down in the substance, the first and the last that changes not, the seed that bruises the serpent's head and was before he was, who ends all the types, figures, and shadows, and is the substance of them all, in whom there is no shadow.

Now after these things had been largely opened, with many other things concerning Christ Jesus and his kingdom, and the people were turned to the divine light of Christ and his Spirit, by which they might come both to know God and Christ and the scriptures, and to have fel-

lowship with them, and one with another in the same Spirit, I was moved to declare and open divers other things to those Friends who had received a part of the ministry, concerning the exercise of their spiritual gifts in the church. . . . Take heed of many words; but what reacheth to the life, that settles in the life: that which cometh from the life, and is received from God, that reacheth to the life and settles others in the life: for the work is not now as it was at first; but the work now is to settle and stay in the life. For as Friends have been led to minister in the power, and the power hath gone through so that there hath grown an understanding among both people of the world and Friends, so Friends must be kept in the life which is pure, that with that they may answer the pure life of God in others. . . .

But as every one is kept living in the life of God, over all that which is contrary, they are in their places; then they do not lay hands on any suddenly. . . . There is no one strikes his fellow-servants, but first he is gone from the pure in his own particular: for when he goeth from the light he is enlightened withal, then he strikes; and then he hath his reward: the light which he is gone from, Christ, he comes and gives him his reward. This is the state of the evil servants: the boisterous, and the hasty and rash beget nothing to God; but the life which doth reach the life, is that which begets to God. . . .

So, Friends, this is the word of the Lord to you all, be watchful and careful in all meetings ye come into; for where Friends are sitting together in silence, they are many times gathered into their own measures. Now, when a man is come newly out of the world from ministering to the world's people, he cometh out of the dirt; and then he had

need take heed that he be not rash. For now, when he comes into a silent meeting that is another state; then he must come and feel his own spirit, how it is, when he comes to them that sit silent: for if he be rash they will judge him; that having been in the world and amongst the world, the heat is not yet off him. For he may come in the heat of his spirit out of the world, whereas the others are still and cool: and his condition in that, not being agreeable to theirs, he may rather do them hurt by begetting them out of the cool state into the heating state; if he be not in that which commands his own spirit, and gives him to know it.

There is a great danger, too, in travelling abroad in the world: the same power that moves any to go forth is that which must keep them. For it is the greatest danger to go abroad, except a man be moved of the Lord, and go in the power of the Lord. . . . And every one feeling the danger to his own particular in travelling abroad, there the pure fear of the Lord will be placed, and kept in. For now, though they that travel may have openings when they are abroad to minister to others, yet, as for their own particular growth, they must dwell in the life which doth open, and that will keep down that which would boast. . . .

So this is the word of the Lord God to you all; feel that ye stand in the presence of the Lord: for every man's word shall be his burden; but the word of the Lord is pure, and answers the pure in every one. . .

Now if any one have a moving to any place, and have spoken what they were moved of the Lord, let them return to their habitation again, and live in the pure life of God, and in the fear of the Lord: and so will ye in the life, and in the solid and seasoned spirit be kept, and preach as well

in life as with words (for none must be light or wild). For the seed of God is weighty, and brings to be solid, and leads into the wisdom of God, by which the wisdom of the Creation is known. But if that part be up which runs into the imaginations, and that part be standing in which the imaginations come up, and the pure spirit be not thoroughly come up to rule and reign, then that will run out, and that will glory, and will boast and vapor; and so will such an one spoil that which opened to him; and this is for condemnation. So every one mind that which feels through and commands his spirit, whereby every one may know what spirit he is of: for he should first try his own spirit, and then he may try others; and he should first know his own spirit, and then he may know others. . . . Now truth hath an honour in the hearts of people which are not Friends; so that all Friends being kept in the truth they are kept in the honour, they are honourable, and that will honour them: but if any lose the power, lose the life, they lose their crown, they lose their honour. . . .

Now, when any shall be moved to go to speak in a steeple-house or market, turn in to that which moves, and be obedient to it; that that which would not go may be kept down; for that which would not go, will be apt to get up. And take heed, on the other hand, that the lavishing part do not get up, for it is a bad savour; therefore that must be kept down, and be kept subject. . . . For it is a weighty thing to be in the work of the ministry of the Lord God, and to go forth in that; it is not as a customary preaching; but it is to bring people to the end of all outward preaching. For when ye have declared the truth to people, and they have received it, and are come into that which ye spake

of, the uttering of many words, and long declarations out of the life, may beget them into a form. And if any should run on rashly into words again, without the savour of life, then they that are come into the thing that he spake of, will judge him; whereby he may hurt again that which he had raised up before. . . .

And take heed all of running into inordinate affections; for when people come to own you, then there is danger of the wrong part to get up. There was a strife among the disciples of Christ, who should be the greatest? Christ told them, The heathen exercise lordship and have dominion over one another; but it shall not be so among you: for Christ the seed was to come up in every one of them; so, then, where is the greatest? For that part in the disciples which looked to be greatest was the same that was in the Gentiles. . . . So this is the word of the Lord God to you all, Keep down, keep low, that nothing may rule nor reign in you but life itself.

Now, the power being lived in, the cross is lived in; . . . and where this is lived in there is no want of wisdom, no want of power, no want of knowledge; but he that ministereth in this, seeth with the eye which the Lord openeth in him, what is for the fire, and what is for the sword, and what must be fed with judgment, and what must be nourished. This brings all down, and to be low, every one keeping to the power: for let a man get up ever so high, yet he must come down again to the power, where he left; and what he went from, he must come down again to that. So now, before all these wicked spirits be got down, which are rambling abroad, Friends must have patience, and must wait in the patience, and in the cool life: and who is in this, doing

the work of the Lord, he hath the tasting and the feeling of the Lamb's power and authority. Therefore, all Friends, keep cool and quiet in the power of the Lord God; and all that is contrary will be subjected: the Lamb hath the victory in the seed through the patience.

If any have been moved to speak, and have quenched that which moved them, let none such go forth afterwards into words, until they feel the power to arise and move them thereto again: for after the first motion is quenched, the other part will be apt to get up; and if any go forth in that, he goeth forth in his own, and the betrayer will come into that. . . . And keep out of all jangling: for all that be in the transgression, they be out from the law of love; but all that be in the law of love come to the Lamb's power, in the Lamb's authority, who is the end of the law outward.

Next day I passed from thence: and after I had visited friends in several places as I went, I came to London, the Lord's power accompanying me, and bearing me up in his service.

Now, during the time that I was at London, I had many services lay upon me; for it was a time of much suffering. And I was moved to write to O. Cromwell, and lay before him the sufferings of Friends both in this nation and in Ireland. There was also a talk about this time of making Cromwell king: whereupon I was moved to go to him, and warned him against the same, and of divers dangers; which if he did not avoid, I told him, He would bring a shame and ruin upon himself and his posterity. He seemed to take well what I said to him, and thanked me; yet afterwards I was moved to write unto him more fully concerning that matter.

Now was it a time of great suffering, and many Friends being in prisons, many other Friends were moved to go to parliament to offer up themselves to lie in the same prisons where their Friends lay, that they that were in prison might go forth and not perish in the stinking prisons and jails. And this we did in love to God and our brethren, that they might not die in prison, and in love to them that cast them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads, which we knew would cry to the Lord and bring his wrath, vengeance, and plagues upon them. But little favour could we find from those professing parliaments, but instead thereof they would be in a rage and sometimes threaten those Friends that thus attended them, that they would whip them and send them home.

As I was going out of town, having two Friends with me, when we were gone little more than a mile out of the city, there met us two troopers belonging to Col. Hacker's regiment, and they took me and the Friends that were with me and brought us back to the Mews, and there kept us prisoners a little while. But the Lord's power was so over them that they did not have us before any officer, but after awhile set us at liberty again. The same day, taking boat, I went down to Kingston, and from thence went afterwards to Hampton Court to speak with the Protector about the sufferings of Friends. I met him riding into Hampton Court Park, and before I came at him, as he rode in the head of his life-guard, I saw and felt a waft (or apparition) of death go forth against him, and when I came to him he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him, according as I was moved to speak to him, he bid me come

to his house. So I went back to Kingston, and the next day went up to Hampton Court again, to have spoken further with him. But when I came he was sick, and —— Harvy, who was one that waited on him, told me, The doctors were not willing I should come in to speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him any more.

From Kingston I went to Isaac Penington's, in Buckinghamshire, where I had appointed a meeting, and the Lord's truth and power was preciously manifested amongst us. After I had visited Friends in those parts I returned to London: and soon after went into Essex, where I had not been long before I heard that the Protector was dead, and his son Richard made Protector in his room. Whereupon I came up to London again.

But there was great persecution in many places, both by imprisoning and breaking up of meetings. At a meeting about seven miles from London the rude people usually came out of several parishes round about to abuse Friends, and did often beat and bruise them exceedingly. One day they beat and abused about eighty Friends that went to that meeting out of London, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs, and throwing them into ditches and ponds, and when they had besmeared them with dirt then they said, They looked like witches. The next First day after this I was moved of the Lord to go to that meeting, though at that time I was very weak. When I came there I bid Friends bring a table, and set it in the close where they used to meet, to stand upon. According to their wonted course the rude people came, and I, having a Bible in my hand, showed them theirs and their priests' and teachers' fruits, and the people came to be ashamed, and was quiet.

And so I opened the Scriptures to them, and our principles agreeing therewith; and I turned the people from the darkness to the Light of Christ and his Spirit, by which they might understand the scriptures, and see themselves and their sins, and know Christ Jesus to be their Saviour. So the meeting ended quietly, and the Lord's power came over all to his glory. But it was a time of great sufferings, for besides the imprisonments (through which many died in prisons), our meetings were greatly disturbed. For they have thrown rotten eggs and wild-fire into our meetings, and have brought in drums beating and kettles to make noises with, that the truth might not be heard; and among these the priests are as rude as any, as may be seen in the book of the "Fighting Priests," wherein a list is given of some of the priests that had actually beaten and abused Friends.

Many also of our Friends were brought up to London prisoners to be tried before the Committee, where Henry Vane, being chairman, would not suffer Friends to come in, except they would put off their hats; but at last the Lord's power came over him, so that, through the mediation of some others that persuaded him, they were admitted. Now many of us having been imprisoned upon contempts (as they called them) for not putting off our hats, it was not a likely thing that Friends who had suffered so long for it from others should put off their hats to him. But the Lord's power came over them all, and wrought so that several Friends were set at liberty by them.

Now after awhile I passed into the country, and went to Reading, and was there under great sufferings and exercises, and in a great travail in my spirit for about ten weeks'

time. For I saw there was great confusion and distraction amongst the people, and that the powers were plucking each other to pieces. And I saw how many men were destroying the simplicity and betraying the truth, and a great deal of hypocrisy and deceit and strife was got uppermost in the people, so that they were ready to sheath their swords in one another's bowels. There had been a tenderness in many of them formerly when they were low, but when they were got up, and had killed and taken possession, they came to be as bad as others. So that we had much to do with them about our hats, and saying thou and thee to them. For they turned their profession of patience and moderation into rage and madness, and many of them would be like distracted men for this hat-honour. For they had hardened themselves by persecuting the innocent, and were at this time crucifying the seed, Christ, both in themselves and others, till at last they fell a-biting and devouring one another, until they were consumed one of another, who had turned against and judged that which God had wrought in them and showed unto them. So shortly after God overthrew them and turned them upside down, and brought the King over them. Now I had a sight and sense of the King's return a good while before, and so had some others. I writ to Oliver several times, and let him know that while he was persecuting God's people they whom he accounted his enemies were preparing to come upon him. And when some forward spirits that came amongst us would have bought Somerset-House that we might have meetings in it, I forbade them to do so; for I did then foresee the King's coming in again. And in my great suffering and travail of spirit for the nation,

being grievously burdened and almost choked with their hypocrisy, treachery, and falseness, I saw God would bring that a-top of them which they had been a-top of, and that all must be brought down to that, which did convince them before they could get over that bad spirit within and without. For it is the pure, invisible Spirit that doth and only can work down all deceit in people.

Now while I was under that sore travail at Reading, by reason of grief and sorrow of mind and the great exercise that was upon my spirit, my countenance was altered, and I looked poor and thin; and there came a company of unclean spirits to me and told me, The plagues of God were upon me. But I told them, It was the same spirit spake that in them that said so of Christ when he was stricken and smitten, they hid their face from Him. But when I had travailed with the witness of God, which they had quenched and had gotten through with it, and over all that hypocrisy which the outside professors were run into, and saw how that would be brought down and turned under, and that life would rise over it, I came to have ease, and the light, power, and spirit shined over all. And then, having recovered and got through my travails and sufferings, my body and face swelled when I came abroad into the air, and then the bad spirits said, I was grown fat; and they envied at that also. So I saw that no condition nor state would please that spirit of theirs.

After I had travelled through many countries in the Lord's service, and many were convinced, notwithstanding that in some places the people were very rude, I returned to London again, when General Monk was come up thither, and the gates and posts of the city were pulling down.

Long before this I had a vision wherein I saw the city lie in heaps and the gates down, and it was then represented to me just as I saw it several years after, lying in heaps, when it was burned.

Divers times had I, both by word and writing, forewarned the several powers, both in Oliver's time and after, of the day of recompense that was coming upon them. But they rejecting council, and slighting those visitations of love to them, I was moved now before they were quite overturned to lay their backsliding, hypocrisy, and treacherous dealing before them.

While I was in Cornwall there were great shipwrecks about the Land's-End. Now it was the custom of that country that at such a time both rich and poor went out to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to save the people's lives. And in some parts of the country they called shipwrecks, God's grace. These things troubled me, and grieved my spirit to hear of such unchristian actions, considering how far they were below the heathen at Melita, who received Paul and made him a fire, and were courteous towards him and them that had suffered shipwreck with him. Wherefore I was moved to write a paper and send it to all the parishes, priests, and magistrates, high and low, to reprove them for such greedy actions, and to warn and exhort them that if they could assist to save people's lives, and preserve their ships and goods, they should use their diligence therein, and consider if it had been their own condition they would judge it hard if they should be upon a wreck and people should strive to get what they could from them, and not matter their lives.

I came into Bristol on the seventh day of the week, and

the day before, the soldiers came with their muskets into the meeting, and were exceeding rude, beating and striking Friends with their muskets, and drove them out of the orchard in a great rage, threatening what they would do if Friends came there again. For the mayor and the commander of the soldiers had (it seems) combined together to make a disturbance amongst Friends. Now when I came to Bristol, and Friends told me what a rage there was in the town, how they were threatened by both the mayor and soldiers, and how unruly the soldiers had been to Friends the day before, I sent for several Friends, as George Bishop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot, and desired them to go to the mayor and aldermen, and desire them, seeing he and they had broke up our meetings, to let Friends have the Town hall to meet in, and for the use of it Friends would give them twenty pounds a year, to be distributed amongst the poor; and when the mayor and aldermen had business to do in it Friends would not meet in it, but only on the First days. Those Friends were astonished at this, and said, The mayor and aldermen would think that they were mad. But I said, Nay; for they should offer them a considerable benefit to the poor. And it was upon me from the Lord to bid them go; and at last they consented and went, though in the cross to their own wills. When they had laid the thing before the mayor it came so over him that he said, For his part, he could consent to it; but he was but one. And he told Friends of another great hall they might have; but that they did not accept of, it being inconvenient. So Friends came away, leaving the mayor in a very loving frame towards them; for they felt the Lord's power had

come over him. When they came back I spake to them to go also to the Colonel that commanded the soldiers, and lay before him the rude carriage of his soldiers, how they came armed amongst naked, innocent people, who were waiting upon and worshipping the Lord. But they were backward to go to him. Next morning, being the First day of the week, we went to the meeting in the orchard, where the soldiers had so lately been so rude. And after I had declared the truth a pretty while in the meeting, there came in many rude soldiers and people, some with drawn swords. The inn-keepers had made some of them drunk, and one of them had bound himself with an oath to cut down and kill the man that spoke. So he came pressing in through all the crowd of people to within two yards of me and stopped at those four Friends before mentioned (who should have gone to the Colonel as I would have had them), and fell a-jangling with them. On a sudden I saw his sword was put up and gone. For the Lord's power came over all, and chained him and the rest, and we had a blessed meeting, and the Lord's everlasting power and presence was felt amongst us. On the day following, those four Friends went and spake with the Colonel, and he sent for the soldiers and cut and slashed some of them before the Friends' faces. Which when I heard of I blamed the Friends for letting him do so, and also for that they did not go on the Seventh day, as I would have had them, which might have prevented this cutting of the soldiers and the trouble they gave at our meeting. But thus the Lord's power came over all those persecuting, bloody minds, and the meeting there was settled in peace for a good while after, without disturbance.

I had then also a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Bristol, at which it was judged there were divers thousands of people; for besides Friends from many parts thereabouts some of the Baptists and Independents with their teachers came to it, and very many of the sober people of Bristol, insomuch that the people that stayed behind, said, The city looked naked, there were so many gone out of it to this meeting. It was a very quiet meeting, and many glorious truths were opened to the people, and the Lord Jesus Christ was set up, who was the end of all figures and shadows and the law and the first covenant. And it was declared to the people how that all figures and shadows were given to man after man fell, and how that all the rudiments and inventions of men which have been set up in Christendom, many of which were Jewish and heathenish ceremonies, were not set up by the command of Christ; and all images and likenesses man has made to himself or for himself, whether of things in heaven or things in earth, have been since he lost the image and likeness of God which God made him in. But now Christ was come to redeem, translate, convert, and regenerate man out of all these things that he hath set up in the fall, and out of the true types, figures, and shadows also, and out of death and darkness up into the light, and life, and image, and likeness of God again, which man and woman were in before they fell. Therefore all now should come and all might come to receive Christ Jesus, the substance, by his light, Spirit, grace, and faith, and should live and walk in Him, the Redeemer and Saviour.

And whereas we have had a great deal of work with the priests and professors who pleaded for imperfection, I was

opened to declare and manifest unto them how that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell, and all that God made He saw that it was good, and He blessed it. But the imperfection came in by the fall through man's and woman's hearkening to the devil, who was out of truth. And though the law made nothing perfect, yet it made way for the bringing in of the better hope, which hope is Christ, who destroys the devil and his works that made man and woman imperfect. Now Christ saith to his disciples, Be ye perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect. And He who himself was perfect comes to make man and woman perfect again, and brings them again to the state which God made them in. So He is the maker-up of the breach and the peace betwixt God and man. I told the people Christ was come to do it freely, who, by one offering, hath perfected forever all them that are sanctified, and renews them up into the image of God which man and woman were in before they fell.

We passed from thence to Tewksbury, and so to Worcester, visiting Friends in their meetings in the towns as we went. And in all my time, I never saw the like drunkenness as then in the towns: for they had been then choosing parliament men. But at Worcester, the Lord's truth was set over all, and people were finely settled therein, and Friends praised the Lord; nay, I saw the very earth rejoiced. Yet great fears and troubles were in many people, and a looking for the King's coming in, and that all things should be altered: and they would ask me what I thought of times and things? I told them the Lord's power was over all, and his light shined over all; and that the fear would take hold only on the hypocrites, such as had not

been faithful to God; and on our persecutors. For in my travail and sufferings at Reading, when people were at a stand, and could not tell what might come in, and who might rule; I told them the Lord's power was over all (for I travelled through in it), and his day shined, whosoever should come in; and whether the King came in or no, all would be well to them that loved the Lord, and were faithful to Him. Therefore, I bid all Friends fear none but the Lord, and keep in his power, that was over all.

I passed on to Twycross, and Swanington, and so to Derby, where I visited Friends, and found my old jailer amongst them, who had formerly kept me in the House of Correction there, and was now convinced of the truth which I then suffered under him for. Passing still further up into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, I came to Snyder-hill-green, visiting Friends through all those parts in their meetings; and so passed on to Balby, in Yorkshire, where our yearly meeting at that time was holden, in a great orchard of John Killams, where it was supposed some thousands of people and Friends were gathered together. In the morning I heard that a troop of horse was sent from York, about thirty miles off, to break up our meeting, and that the militia newly raised was to join with them. So I went into the meeting, and stood up on a great stool; and, after I had spoken some time, two trumpeters came up, sounding their trumpets pretty near me; and the captain of the troop cried, Divide to the right and left, and make way: then they rid up to me. Now, I was declaring the everlasting truth and word of life in the mighty power of the Lord. The captain bid me come down, for he was come (he said) to disperse our meeting. After some time I spake to him,

and told him, He and they all knew we were a peaceable people, and that we used to have such great meetings: but if he did question that we met in an hostile way, I desired him to make search among us, and if he found either sword or pistol about any there, let such suffer. He told me, He must see us dispersed, for he came all night on purpose to disperse us. I asked him, What honour it would be to him to ride with swords and pistols amongst so many unarmed men and women as there was? But if he would be still and quiet, our meeting probably might not continue above two or three hours; and when it was done, as we came peaceably and civilly together, so we should part: for he might perceive the meeting was so large, that all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night. He said, He could not stay to see the meeting ended, but must disperse them before he went. I desired him then, if he himself could not stay, that he would let a dozen of his soldiers stay and see the order and peaceableness of our meeting. He said, He would permit us an hour's time; and left half a dozen soldiers to stay with us. Then went the captain away with his troop, and Friends of the house gave those soldiers that stayed and their horses some meat. When the captain was gone, the soldiers that were left told us, We might stay till night if we would. But we stayed but about three hours after, and had a glorious, powerful meeting: for the presence of the living God was manifest amongst us, and the seed, Christ, was set over all, and Friends were built upon Him the foundation, and settled under his glorious, heavenly teaching. And after the meeting was done, Friends passed away in peace, greatly refreshed with

the presence of the Lord, and filled with joy and gladness that the Lord's power had given them such dominion. For many of the militia soldiers stayed also, and were much vexed that the captain and troopers had not broken up our meeting, and cursed the captain and his troopers: for it was reported that they intended to have done us some mischief that day; but the troopers, instead of assisting them, were rather assistant unto us in not joining with them as they expected, but preventing them from doing the mischief they designed. And yet this captain was a desperate man: for it was he that had said to me in Scotland, That he would obey his superiors' commands; and if it were to crucify Christ, he would do it; or execute the great Turk's commands against the Christians, if he were under him. So that it was an eminent power of the Lord which chained down both him and all his troopers, and those envious militia soldiers also; so that they went away, not having power to hurt any of us, nor to break up our meeting.

I passed, in the Lord's power, to Barton Abby, where I had a great meeting; and from thence to Thomas Taylor's, and so to Skipton, where there was a general meeting of men Friends out of many counties, concerning the affairs of the church. To this meeting came many Friends out of most parts of the nation; for it was about business relating to the church, both in this nation and beyond the seas. Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to Friends the setting up of this meeting for that service; for many Friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, and their goods were taken from them contrary to the law, and they understood not how to help themselves, or where to seek redress. But after this meeting

was set up, several Friends that had been justices and magistrates, and others, that understood something of the law, came thither, and were able to inform Friends and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the justices, judges, or parliament. Now this meeting had stood several years, and divers justices and captains had come to break it up; but when they have understood the business Friends met about, and have seen Friends' books and accompts of collections for relief of the poor, how we took care one county to help another, and to help our Friends beyond the seas, and provide for our poor, that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, etc., the justices and officers would confess that we did their work, and would pass away peaceably and lovingly, commending Friends' practices. And sometimes they would come two hundred of the world's poor people, and wait there till the meeting was done (for all the country knew we met about the poor), and then after the meeting was over, Friends would send to the bakers for bread, and give every one of those poor people a loaf, how many soever there were of them; for we were taught to do good unto all, though especially to the household of faith.

I went to Swarthmore; Francis Howgil and Thomas Curtis being with me. I had not been long there before one Henry Porter, who was called a justice, sent a warrant by the chief constable and three petty constables to apprehend me. I had a sense of the thing beforehand; and, being in the parlour with Richard Richardson and Margaret Fell, some of her servants came and told her, That there were some come to search the house for arms, and they went up into some of the chambers under that pretence.

It came upon me to go out to them; and as I was going by some of them, I spake some words to them; whereupon they asked me my name. I readily told them my name, and then they laid hold on me, saying, I was the man they looked for; and led me away to Ulverstone. There they kept me all night, at the constable's house, and set a guard of fifteen or sixteen men to watch me, some of whom sat in the chimney, for fear I should go up the chimney, such dark imaginations possessed them. They were very rude and uncivil to me, and would neither suffer me to speak to Friends, nor suffer Friends to bring me necessaries; but with violence thrust out Friends, and kept a strong guard upon me. Very wicked and rude they were, and a great noise they made about me. One of the constables, whose name was Askburnham, said, He did not think a thousand men could have taken me. They led me on to Lancaster, about fourteen miles, and a great triumph they thought to have had, but as they led me, I was moved to sing praises to the Lord in his triumphing power over all. When I was come to Lancaster, the spirits of the people being mightily up, I stood and looked earnestly upon them; and they cried, Look at his eyes! After a while I spake to them, and then they were pretty sober. Then came a young man, and had me to his house; and after a little time the officers had me to Major Porter's house, who was called a justice, and who had sent forth the warrant against me. He charged me to be an enemy to the King; that I endeavoured to raise a new war, and imbrue the nation in blood again. I told him I had never learned the postures of war, but was clear and innocent as a child concerning those things, and therefore was bold. Then came the clerk

with the mittimus, and the jailer was sent for and commanded to take me and put me into the Dark House, and to let none come at me, but to keep me there a close prisoner, until I should be delivered by the king or parliament. So they put me into the jail; and the under-jailer, one Hardy, a very wicked man, was exceeding rude and cruel, and many times would not let me have meat brought in, but as I could get it under the door.

After this, Margaret Fell determined to go to London to speak with the king about my being taken, and to shew him the manner of it, and the unjust dealing and evil usage I had received.

About this time, Ann Curtis, of Reading, came to see me, and understanding how I stood committed, it was upon her also to go to the king about it. For her father, who had been sheriff of Bristol, was hanged near his own door for endeavouring to bring the king in; upon which consideration she had some hopes that the king might hear her on my behalf. Accordingly, when she returned to London, she and Margaret Fell went to the king together, who, when he understood whose daughter she was, received her kindly. And her request to him being, To send for me up and hear the cause himself, he promised her he would, and commanded his secretary to send down an order for the bringing me up. But when they came to the secretary for the order, he (being no friend to us) said, It was not in his power; but that he must go according to law, and I must be brought up by a habeas-corpus before the judges. Meanwhile the Assize came on; but inasmuch as there was a writ come down for removing me up, I was not brought before the judge. At the Assize many people came to see me, and I

was moved to speak out at the jail window to them, and shew them, How uncertain their religion was, and that every sort that had been uppermost, persecuted the rest. For when popery was uppermost, people had been persecuted for not following the mass; and they that did hold up the mass cried then, It was the higher power, and people must be subject to that higher power. Afterwards, they that held up the common prayer, persecuted others for not following that; and they said, It was the higher power then, also, and we must be subject to that. Since that, the Presbyterians and Independents cried each of them, We must be subject to the higher power, and submit to the directory of the one, and the church faith of the other. Thus, all, like the apostate Jews, have cried, Help, men of Israel, against the true Christians; so people might see how uncertain they are of their religions. But I directed them to Christ Jesus, that they might be built upon Him, the Rock and Foundation that changeth not. Much on this wise I declared to them, and they were quiet and very attentive. Afterwards I gave forth a little paper concerning True Religion, as followeth:

True Religion is the true rule and right way of serving God. And religion is a pure stream of righteousness flowing from the image of God, and is the life and power of God planted in the heart and mind by the law of life in the heart, which bringeth the soul, mind, spirit and body to be conformable to God, the Father of spirits, and to Christ; so that they come to have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and with all his holy angels and saints. And this religion is pure from above, undefiled before God, and is to visit the fatherless, and widows, and strangers, and

keeps from the spots of the world. So this religion is above all the defiled, spotted religions in the world, that keep not themselves from defilements and spots, but are impure, and below, and spotted; whose fatherless, and widows, and strangers do beg up and down the streets. G. F.

It was long before the sheriff would yield to remove me to London, unless I would seal a bond to him and bear their charges, which I still refused to do. Then they consulted how to convey me up, and at first concluded to send up a party of horse with me. And I told them, If I were such a man as they had represented me to be they had need send a troop or two of horse to guard me. When they considered what a charge it would be to them to send up a party of horse with me, they altered their purpose, and concluded to send me up guarded only by the jailer and some bailiffs. But upon further consideration they found that would be a great charge to them also, and thereupon sent for me down from the prison into the jailer's house, and told me, If I would put in bail that I would be in London such a day of the term I should have leave to go up with some of my own Friends. I told them, I would neither put in any bail nor give one piece of silver to the jailer, for I was an innocent man, and they had imprisoned me wrongfully and laid a false charge upon me. Nevertheless, I said, If they would let me go up with one or two of my friends, to bear me company, I might go up and be in London such a day, if the Lord did permit, and if they desired it I or any of my friends that went with me would carry up their charge against myself. So at last, when they saw they could do no otherwise with me, the sheriff yielded and came under, consenting that I should come up

with some of my friends without any other engagement than my word, as aforesaid, to appear before the judges at London such a day of the term, if the Lord did permit. Whereupon I was set out of prison, and went to Swarthmore, where I stayed two or three days. Travelling on again through the countries, visiting Friends' meetings as I went, in about three weeks' time from my coming out of prison I came to London, Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers being with me.

I appeared at the King's Bench-bar at the hour appointed. I was brought into the middle of the court, and as soon as I was come in I was moved to look about, and turning to the people, said, Peace be among you; and the power of the Lord sprang over the court. The charge against me was read openly: the people were moderate and the judges cool and loving, and the Lord's mercy was to them. But when they came to that part of it which said, That I and my friends were imbroiling the nation in blood and raising a new war, and that I was an enemy to the king, &c., they lifted up their hands. Then, stretching out my arms, I said, I am the man whom that charge is against, but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war postures. And, said I, do ye think that if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares that I would have brought it up myself against myself? Or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? For had I been such a man as this charge sets forth I had need have been guarded up with a troop or two of horse. But the sheriff and magistrates of Lancashire had thought fit to let me and my friends come up with it ourselves, almost

two hundred miles, without any guard at all, which, ye may be sure, they would not have done if they had looked upon me to be such a man. Then the judge asked me, Whether it should be filed? or what I would do with it? I answered, Ye are judges, and able (I hope) to judge in this matter; therefore do with it what ye will. Then stood up he that was called Esquire Marsh, who was of the king's bed-chamber, and told the judges, It was the king's pleasure that I should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came up against me. Then they asked me, Whether I would put it to the king and council. I said, Yes, with a good will. Thereupon they sent the sheriff's return, which he made to the writ of habeas-corpus, containing the matter charged against me in the mittimus to the king, that he might see for what I was committed. Upon perusal of this, and consideration of the whole matter, the king being satisfied of my innocency, commanded his secretary to send an order to Judge Mallet for my release. Thus, after I had been a prisoner somewhat more than twenty weeks, I was freely set at liberty by the king's command, the Lord's power having wonderfully wrought for the clearing of my innocency.

Now did I see the end of the travail which I had had in my sore exercise at Reading; for the everlasting power of the Lord was over all, and his blessed truth, life, and light shined over the nation, and great and glorious meetings we had and very quiet, and many flocked in unto the truth. For Richard Hubberthorn had been with the king, and the king said, None should molest us so long as we lived peaceably, and promised this to us upon the word of a king, telling him, We might make use of his promise.

Some Friends also were admitted to go into the House of Lords before them and the bishops, and had liberty given them to declare their reasons, Why they could not pay tithes, nor swear, nor go to the steeple-house worship, or join with others in worship; and they heard them moderately. And there being about seven hundred Friends in prison in the nation who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government upon contempts (as they call them), when the king came in, he set them all at liberty. For there seemed at that time an inclination and intention in the government to have granted Friends liberty, because they were sensible that we had suffered as well as they in the former power's days. But still, when anything was going forward in order thereunto, some dirty spirits or other that would seem to be for us threw something in the way to stop it. It was said there was an instrument drawn up for confirming our liberty, and that it only wanted signing, when, on a sudden, that wicked attempt of the Fifth Monarchy people brake forth and put the city and nation in an uproar. This was on a First-day night, and very glorious meetings we had had that day, wherein the Lord's truth shined over all and his power was exalted above all. But about midnight, or soon after, the drums beat, and the cry was, Arm, Arm. I got up out of bed and in the morning took boat, and, landing at Whitehall Stairs, walked through Whitehall. They looked strangely on me there; but I passed through them and went to the Pell Mell, whither divers Friends came to me, though it was now grown dangerous passing the streets. For by this time both the city and suburbs were up in arms, and exceeding rude the people and soldiers were, insomuch that a Friend,

Henry Fell, going to a Friend's house, the soldiers knocked him down, and he had been killed if the Duke of York had not come by. Great mischief was done in the city this week, and when the next First day came, that Friends went to their meetings as they used to do, many of them were taken prisoners. Great rifling of houses there was at this time to search for people, but I went to a private friend's house, and Richard Hubberthorn was with me. There we drew up a declaration against plots and fightings, to be presented to the king and council. But when we had finished it and sent it to the press it was taken in the press.

Upon this insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men great havoc was made both in city and country, so that it was dangerous for sober people to stir abroad for several weeks after; and hardly could either men or women go up and down the streets to buy provisions for their families without being abused. In the countries they dragged men and women out of their houses and some sick men out of their beds by the legs. Nay, one man that was in a fever the soldiers dragged out of his bed to prison, and when he was brought thither he died. His name was Thomas Patching.

Margaret Fell went to the king and told him what sad work there was in the city and in the nation, and shewed him that we were an innocent, peaceable people, and that we must keep our meetings as we used to do, whatever we suffered; but that it concerned him to see that peace was kept that so no innocent blood might be shed.

Now were the prisons everywhere filled with Friends and others in city and country, and the posts were so laid for the searching of letters that none could pass unsearched.

Yet we heard of several thousands of our Friends that were cast into prison in several places throughout the nation; and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the king and council. The next week we had an account of several thousands more that were cast into prison, and she went and laid them also before the king and his council.

Having lost our former declaration in the press, we made haste and drew up another against plots and fighting, and got it printed, and sent some of them to the king and council; others of them were sold up and down the streets, and at the Exchange. This declaration did somewhat clear the dark air that was over the city and country. And soon after the king gave forth a proclamation, That no soldiers should go to search any house but with a constable. But the jails were still full, many thousands of Friends being in prison in the nation; which mischief was occasioned by the wicked rising of those Fifth Monarchy men. But when those of them that were taken came to be executed, they did us that right to clear us openly from having any hand in or knowledge of their plot. And after that, the king, being continually importuned thereunto, issued forth a declaration, That Friends should be set at liberty without paying fees. But great labour and travel, care and pains was taken in it, before this was obtained; for Thomas Moor and Margaret Fell went often to the king about it.

Much blood was shed this year; many of them that had been the old king's judges being hanged, drawn, and quartered. And amongst them that so suffered, Col. Hacker was one; he who sent me prisoner from Leicester to London in Oliver's time: of which an account is given before. A

sad day it was, and a repaying of blood with blood. For in the time of O. Cromwell, when several men were put to death by him, being hanged, drawn, and quartered for pretended treasons, I felt from the Lord God that their blood would not be put up, but would be required; and I said as much then to several. And now upon the king's return, when several of them that had been against the king were put to death, as the others that were for the king had been before by Oliver: this was sad work, destroying of people contrary to the nature of Christians, who have the nature of lambs and sheep. But there was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of professors, who, being got into power, grew proud, haughty, and cruel beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity. That which we suffered for, and which our goods were spoiled for, it was for our obedience to the Lord, in his power and in his Spirit, who was able to help and to succour; and we had no helper in the earth but Him. And He did hear the cries of his people, and did bring an overflowing scourge over the heads of all our persecutors; which brought a quaking, and a dread, and a fear amongst and on them all; so that they who had nick-named us (who are the children of light), and in scorn called us Quakers, the Lord made them quake; and many of them would have been glad to have hid themselves amongst us; and some of them, through the distress that came upon them, did at length come to confess to the truth. Oh! the daily reproaches, revilings, and beatings we underwent amongst them, even in the highways, because we could not put off our hats to them; and for saying thou and thee to them! Oh! the havoc and spoil the priests made of our goods,

because we could not put into their mouths and give them tithes! Besides casting into prisons; and besides the great fines laid upon us, because we could not swear! But for all these things did the Lord God plead with them.

Before this time we received account from New England, that the Government there had made a law to banish the Quakers out of their colonies upon pain of death in case they returned, and that several of our Friends, having been so banished and returning, were thereupon taken and actually hanged; and that divers more were in prison in danger of the like sentence to be executed upon them. When those were put to death I was in prison at Lancaster, and had a perfect sense of their sufferings as though it had been myself, and as though the halter had been put about my own neck, though we had not at that time heard of it. But as soon as we heard of it Edward Burrough went to the king and told him, There was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if it were not stopped, would overrun all. To which the king replied, But I will stop that vein. Edward Burrough said, Then do it speedily, for we know not how many may soon be put to death. The king answered, As speedily as ye will. Call (said he to some present) the secretary, and I will do it presently. So the secretary being called a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, Edward Burrough going again to the king to desire the matter might be expedited, the king said, He had no occasion at present to send a ship thither; but if we would send one we might do it as soon as we would. Edward Burrough then asked the king, If it would please him, to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker to carry the mandamus to New

England. He said, Yes, to whom ye will. Whereupon E. B. named one Samuel Shattock (as I remember), who, being an inhabitant of New England, was banished by their law, to be hanged if he came again; and to him the deputation was granted. Then we sent for one Ralph Goldsmith, an honest friend, who was master of a good ship, and with him we agreed for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and with a prosperous gale in about six weeks' time arrived before the town of Boston, in New England, upon a First-day morning, called Sunday. With him went many passengers, both of New and Old England, that were Friends, whom the Lord did move to go to bear their testimony against those bloody persecutors who had exceeded all the world in that age in their bloody persecutions. The townsmen at Boston seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours soon came on board and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them, He was the commander. They asked him, If he had any letters? He said, Yes. They asked, If he would deliver them? He said, No, not to-day. So they went ashore and reported, There was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, who they knew was by their law to be put to death for coming again after banishment; but they knew not his errand nor his authority. So all being kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore; next morning Samuel Shattock, the King's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, the commander of the vessel, went on shore; and sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to the Governor's, John Endicott's, door and

knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word their business was from the King of England, and they would deliver their message to none but the Governor himself. Thereupon they were admitted to go in, and the Governor came to them, and having received the deputation and the mandamus he laid off his hat and looked upon them; then going out he bid the Friends follow him. So he went to the deputy-governor, and after a short consultation came out to the Friends and said, We shall obey his majesty's commands. After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore, and presently the noise of the business flew about the town; and the Friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer. While they were thus met, in came a poor Friend, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons, expecting execution. This added to their joy and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praises to God, who is worthy forever to have the praise, the glory, and the honour; for He only is able to deliver and to save and to support all that sincerely put their trust in Him.

About this time many Papists and Jesuits began to fawn upon Friends, and talked up and down where they came that of all the sects the Quakers were the best and most self-denying people. And said, It was great pity that they did not return to the holy mother church. Thus they made a buzz among the people, and said, They would willingly discourse with Friends. But Friends were loth to meddle with them, because they were Jesuits, looking upon it to be

both dangerous and scandalous. But when I understood it I said to Friends, Let us discourse with them, be they what they will. So a time being appointed at Gerrard Roberts his house there came two of them like courtiers. When we were come together they asked our names, which we told them. But we did not ask their names; for we understood they were called Papists, and they knew we were called Quakers. I asked them the same question that I had formerly asked a Jesuit, namely, Whether the church of Rome was not degenerated from the church in the primitive times from the spirit and power and practice that they were in in the apostles' times? He to whom I put this question being subtle, said, He would not answer it. I asked him, Why? But he would show no reason. His companion said he would answer me; and he said, They were not degenerated from the church in the primitive times. I asked the other, Whether he was of the same mind? And he said, Yes. Then I told them that for the better understanding one another, and that there might be no mistake, I would repeat my question over again after this manner, Whether the church of Rome now was in the same purity, practice, power, and spirit that the church in the apostles' time was in? When they saw we would be exact with them they flew off, and denied that, saying: It was presumption in any to say they had the same power and spirit which the apostles had. But I told them: It was presumption in them to meddle with the words of Christ and his apostles, and make people believe they succeeded the apostles, and yet be forced to confess, They were not in the same power and spirit that the apostles were in. This, said I, is a spirit of presumption and

rebuked by the apostles' spirit. Then I showed them how different their fruits and practices were from the fruits and practices of the apostles. Then I began to tell them how that evil spirit, which they were led by, had led them to pray by beads and to images; and to set up nunneries, and friaries, and monasteries, and to put people to death for religion: and this practice of theirs, I showed them, was below the law and far short of the gospel, in which is liberty. They were soon weary of this discourse and went their way, and gave a charge (as we heard) to the Papists, That they should not dispute with us, nor read any of our books. So we were rid of them. But we had reasonings with all the other sects, as Presbyterians, Independents, Seekers, Baptists, Episcopal-men, Socinians, Brownists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Fifth Monarchy men, Familists, Muggletonians, and Ranters — none of which would affirm they had the same power and Spirit that the apostles had and were in. So in that power and Spirit the Lord gave us dominion over them all.

Now there being very many Friends in prison in the nation, Richard Hubberthorn and I drew up a paper concerning them, and got it delivered to the king that he might understand how we were dealt with by his officers. It was directed thus:

For the KING.

"Friend, who art the chief ruler of these dominions, here is a list of some of the sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, that have suffered under the changeable powers before thee, by whom there have been imprisoned and under whom there have suffered for good conscience sake and for bearing testimony to the truth as

it is in Jesus, Three thousand one hundred seventy-three persons. And there lie yet in prison, in the name of the commonwealth, seventy-three persons that we know of. And there have died in prison, in the time of the commonwealth and of Oliver and Richard, the protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments upon nasty straw and in dungeons, thirty-two persons. There have been also imprisoned in thy name since thy arrival by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby to thee, three thousand sixty and eight persons. Besides this our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs and arms (though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God's people in the primitive times), and our Friends are thrown into waters and trod upon till the very blood gusheth out of them — the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered. . . Hearken to these things, and so consider them in the wisdom of God that by it such actions may be stopped, thou that hast the government and mayest do it. We desire that all that are in prison may be set at liberty, and that for the time to come they may not be imprisoned for conscience and for the truth's sake. And if thou question the innocency of their sufferings let them and their accusers be brought up before thee; and we shall produce a more particular and full account of their sufferings, if required. G. F. & R. H."

I mentioned before how that in the year 1650 I was kept prisoner six months in the house of correction at Darby, and that the keeper of the prison, being a cruel man and one that had dealt very wickedly by me, was smitten in himself, the plagues and terrors of the Lord falling upon

him because thereof. This man being afterwards convinced of truth wrote me the following letter:

"DEAR FRIEND:—Having such a convenient messenger I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition, remembering that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument. So that sometimes I am taken with admiration that it should come by such a means as it did; that is to say, that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me many times to think of the jailer's conversion by the apostles. O happy George Fox! that first breathed that breath of life within the walls of my habitation! Notwithstanding my outward losses are since that time such that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now, instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out to the death that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present but my kind love unto thee, and all Christian Friends with thee, in haste, I rest, thine in Christ Jesus,

"THOMAS SHARMAN.

"DERBY, the 22d of the 4th Month, 1662."

Now after I had made some stay in London, and had cleared myself of those services that at that time lay upon

me there, I went into the country, having with me Alexander Parker and John Stubbs (who was lately come back from Alexandria in Egypt, as was mentioned before). We travelled down through the countries, visiting Friends' meetings till we came to Bristol. On the First day in the morning several Friends came to me to Edward Pyot's house (where I lay the night before), and used great endeavours to persuade me not to go to the meeting that day; for the magistrates (they said) had threatened to take me, and had raised the Trained-Bands. I wished them to go their way to the meeting, not telling them what I intended to do; but I told Edward Pyot I intended to go to the meeting, and he sent his son with me to show me the way from his house by the fields. As I went, I met divers Friends, who were coming to me to prevent my going, and did what they could to stop me: What, said one, wilt thou go into the mouth of the beast? Wilt thou go into the mouth of the dragon? said another. But I put them by and went on. When I came into the meeting, Margaret Thomas was speaking; and when she had done I stood up. Now I saw a concern and fear upon Friends for me; but the power of the Lord in which I declared soon struck the fear out of them; and life sprang, and an heavenly, glorious meeting we had. After I had cleared myself of what was upon me from the Lord to the meeting, I was moved to pray; and after I had prayed and was stepped down, I was moved to stand up again and tell Friends, Now they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver. A very large, full meeting this was, and very hot; but truth was over all, and the life was up which carried through all, and the meeting broke up in

peace. For the officers and soldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time, so that our meeting was ended before they came. But I understood afterwards they were in a great rage that they had missed me; for they were heard to say one to another before, I 'll warrant we shall have him; but the Lord prevented them.

Now having been two First days together at the meeting at Broad-mead, and feeling my spirit clear of Bristol, I went next First day to a meeting in the country not far from Bristol. And after the meeting was over some Friends that came from Bristol told me that the soldiers that day had beset the meeting-house round at Bristol, and then went up saying, They would be sure to have me now. But when they came up and found me not there, they were in a great rage, and kept the Friends in the meeting-house most part of the day before they would let them go home, and queried of them, Which way I was gone, and how they might send after me? for the mayor, they said, would fain have spoken with me. But I had a vision of a great mastiff-dog, that would have bitten me; but I put one hand above his jaws and the other hand below, and tore his jaws to pieces. So the Lord by his power tore their power to pieces, and made way for me to escape them. Then passed I through the countries, visiting Friends in Wiltshire and Berkshire till I came to London; and had great meetings amongst Friends as I went; and the Lord's power was over all, and a blessed time it was for the spreading of his glorious truth. It was indeed the immediate hand and power of the Lord that did preserve me out of their hands at Bristol, and over the heads of all our persecutors; and

the Lord alone is worthy of all the glory, who did uphold and preserve for his name and truth's sake.

At London I staid not long this time; but was drawn in my spirit to visit Friends northward as far as Leicestershire, John Stubbs being with me. So we travelled down through the countries, having meetings amongst Friends as we went; and at Skegby we had a great meeting. Thence passing on we came to a place called Barnet-Hills, where lived then one Captain Brown, a Baptist, whose wife was convinced of truth. This Captain Brown, after the Act for breaking up meetings came forth, being afraid lest his wife should go to meetings and be cast into prison, left his house at Barrow and took a place on these hills, saying, His wife should not go to prison. And this being a free place, many, both priests and others, got thither as well as he. But he, who would neither stand to truth himself nor suffer his wife, was, in this place where he thought to be safe, found out by the Lord, whose hand fell heavy upon him for his unfaithfulness, so that he was sorely plagued and grievously judged in himself for flying and drawing his wife into that private place. We went to see his wife; and being come into the house I asked him How he did? How do I? said he; the plagues and vengeance of God are upon me, a runagate, a Cain as I am; God may look for a witness for me and such as me; for if all were no faithfuller than I God would have no witness left in the earth. In this condition he lived there on bread and water, and thought it was too good for him. At length he got home again with his wife to his own house at Barrow, where afterwards he came to be convinced of God's eternal truth, and died in it. A little before his death he said,

Though he had not borne a testimony for truth in his life, he would bear a testimony in his death, and would be buried in his orchard, and was so. He was an example to all the flying Baptists in the time of persecution; who could not bear persecutions themselves, and yet persecuted us when they had power.

[At Swanington George Fox and four other Friends were illegally arrested in a Friend's house on the charge that they "were to have had a meeting," and sent to a prison at Leicester; of this he says:] This jailer had been a very wicked, cruel man; and there being six or seven Friends in prison before we came, he had taken some occasion to quarrel with them, and had thrust them into the dungeon amongst the felons, where was hardly room for them to lie down, they were so thronged. We stayed all that day in the prison-yard, and desired the jailer to let us have some straw; he surlily answered, You do not look like men that would lie on straw. After a while William Smith, a Friend, came to me, and he being acquainted in the house, I asked him, What rooms there were in the house and what rooms Friends usually had been put into before they were put into the dungeon? I asked him also, Whether the jailer or his wife was master? He said the wife was master; and that though she was lame and sate mostly in her chair, not being able to go but on crutches, yet she would beat her husband when he came within her reach if he did not do as she would have him do. Now I considered that probably many Friends might come to visit us, and that if we had a room to ourselves it would be better for them to speak to me, and for me to speak to them, as there should be occasion. Wherefore I desired William Smith to go

speak with the woman, and let her know if she would let us have a room, and let our friends come up out of the dungeon, and leave it to us and them to give her what we would, it might be better for her. He went; and after some reasoning with her she consented, and we were had into a room. Then we were told, That the jailer would not suffer us to fetch any drink out of the town into the prison, but that what beer we drank we must take of him. I told them I would remedy that, if they would; for we would get a pail of water and a little wormwood once a day, and that might serve us; so we should have none of his beer, and the water he could not deny us.

Before we came there, when those few Friends that were prisoners there did meet together on the First days, if any of them was moved to pray to the Lord, the jailer would come up with his great quarter-staff in his hand and his mastiff-dog at his heels, and would pluck them down by the hair of the head and strike them with his staff; but when he struck Friends, the mastiff-dog, instead of falling upon Friends, would take the staff out of his hand. Now when the First day came, after we came in, I spake to one of my fellow-prisoners to carry down a stool and set it in the yard; and give notice to the debtors and felons that there would be a meeting in the yard, and they that would hear the word of the Lord declared might come thither. So the debtors and prisoners went into the yard, and we went down and had a very precious meeting, the jailer not meddling. Thus every First day we had a meeting there as long as we staid in prison; and several came in out of the city and country, and many were convinced; and some re-

ceived the Lord's truth there, who stood faithful witnesses for it ever since.

When the sessions came, we were had up before the justices. We desired they would read the mittimus, and see how wrongfully we were imprisoned. They would not take notice of the mittimus, but called a jury and indicted us for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. It was not long before the jury returned and brought us in Guilty; and then, after some words, the justices whispered together, and bid the jailer take us down to prison again. But the Lord's power was over them, and his everlasting truth, which we declared boldly amongst them. And there being a great concourse of people, most of them followed us, so that the crier and bailiffs were fain to call the people back again to the court. We declared the truth as we went down the streets all along till we came to the jail, the streets being full of people. When we were in our chamber again, after some time the jailer came to us and desired all to go forth that were not prisoners. And when they were gone, he said, Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure that ye should all be set at liberty, except those that are in for tithes; and you know there are fees due to me; but I shall leave it to you to give me what you will.

After this we passed through the countries, visiting Friends in their meetings. And the Lord's power carried us over the persecuting spirits and through many dangers; and his truth spread and grew, and Friends were established therein. Praises and glory to his name forever!

Travelling through the countries, we visited Friends, travelling some weeks eight or nine score miles a week, and had meetings every day. We passed to the Land's-End, to

John Ellis's house, where we had a precious meeting; and there was a fisherman, one Nicholas Jose, that was convinced; and he spake in meetings and declared the truth amongst the people; and the Lord's power was over all. I was glad that the Lord had raised up his standard in those dark parts of the nation, where since there is a fine meeting of honest-hearted Friends; and many there are come to sit under Christ's teaching; and a great people the Lord will have in that country.

From the Land's-End we returned to Redruth, and the next day to Truro, where we had a meeting. Next morning some of the chief of the town desired to speak with me, and I went to them; amongst whom was Colonel Rouse. A great deal of discourse I had with them concerning the things of God, and in their reasoning they said, The Gospel was the four books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and they called it natural. But I told them the Gospel was the power of God, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, or any of them were printed or written; and it was preached to every creature (of which a great part might never see nor hear of those four books), so that every creature was to obey the power of God; for Christ, the spiritual man, would judge the world according to the Gospel, that is, according to his invisible power. When they heard this they could not gainsay, for the truth came over them. So I directed them to their teacher, the grace of God, and shewed them the sufficiency of it; which would teach them how to live and what to deny; and being obeyed would bring their salvation. And so to that grace I recommended them and left them.

We passed to Collumpton and to Wellington; for we had

appointed a meeting five miles off, where we had a large meeting at a butcher's house, and a blessed meeting it was; for the people were directed to their teacher, the grace of God, which would bring them salvation; and many were settled under its teaching; and the Lord's presence was amongst us, and we were refreshed in Him in whom we laboured and travelled; and the meeting was quiet. There had been a very great persecution in that country, and in that town a little before, insomuch that some Friends questioned the peaceableness of our meeting: but the Lord's power chained all, and his glory shined over all. The Friends told us how they had broken up their meetings by warrants from the justices, and how by their warrants they were required to carry Friends before the justices; and Friends bid them carry them then. The officers told Friends they must go; but Friends said Nay, that was not according to their warrants, which required them to carry them. Then they were fain to hire carts and wagons and horses, and to lift Friends up into their wagons and carts to carry them before a justice. And when they came to a justice's house sometimes he happened to be from home, and if he were a moderate man he would get out of the way, and then they were forced to carry them before another; so that they were many days carting and carrying Friends up and down from place to place. And when afterward the officers came to lay their charges for this upon the town, the town's people would not pay it, but made them bear it themselves; and that brake the neck of their persecution there for that time. The like was done in several other places, till the officers had shamed and tired themselves, and then were fain to give over.

At one place they warned Friends to come to the steeple-house; and the Friends met together to consider of it; and had freedom to go to the steeple-house and meet together there. Accordingly, when they came thither, they sate down together to wait upon the Lord in his power and spirit, and minded the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and Saviour, but did not mind the priest. When the officers saw that they came to them to put them out of the steeple-house again; but the Friends told them it was not time for them to break up their meeting yet. A while after, when the priest had done his stuff, they came to the Friends again, and would have had them go home to dinner; but the Friends told them they did not use to go to dinner; but were feeding upon the bread of life. So there they sate waiting upon the Lord and enjoying his power and presence, till they found freedom in themselves to depart.

I went from Westmoreland to James Taylor's at Cartmel in Lancashire, where I staid the First day, and had a precious meeting; and after the meeting was done I came over the sands to Swarthmore.

When I came there they told me Colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant thither to search for me, and that he had searched trunks and chests for me. That night, as I was in bed, I was moved of the Lord to go next day to Kirby-Hall, which was Colonel Kirby's house, about five miles off, to speak with him; and I did so. When I came thither, I found there the Flemmings and several others of the gentry, so called, of the country, who were come to take their leave of Colonel Kirby, he being then to go up to London to the parliament. I was had into the parlour amongst them; but Colonel Kirby was not then within,

being gone forth a little way; so they said little to me, nor I much to them. But after a little while Colonel Kirby came in; and then I spake to him and told him, I came to visit him understanding that he would have seen me; and to know what he had to say to me, and whether he had anything against me? He said before all the company, As he was a gentleman, he had nothing against me. But, said he, Mistress Fell must not keep great meetings at her house, for they meet contrary to the Act. I told him, That Act did not take hold on us, but on such as did meet to plot and contrive, and to raise insurrections against the king; whereas we were no such people; for he knew that they that met at Margaret Fell's house were his neighbours, and a peaceable people. After many words had passed, he shook me by the hand and said again, He had nothing against me; and others of them said, I was a deserving man. So we parted, and I returned to Swarthmore.

Shortly after, when Colonel Kirby was gone to London, there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Houlker-Hall, where Justice Preston lived; and there they granted forth a warrant to apprehend me. I heard over night both of their meeting and of the warrant; and so could have gone away and got out of their reach if I would; for I had not appointed any meeting at that time; and I had cleared myself of the north; and the Lord's power was over all. But I considered, there being a noise of a plot in the north, if I should go away they might fall upon poor Friends; but if I gave up myself to be taken it might stop them, and Friends should escape the better. So I gave up myself to be taken, and prepared myself against they came. Next day an officer

came with his sword and pistols to take me. I told him I knew his errand before, and had given myself to be taken; for if I would have escaped their imprisonment I could have been gone forty miles off before he came; but I was an innocent man, and so it mattered not what they could do to me. He asked me, How I heard of it, seeing the order was made privately in a parlour? I said it was no matter for that; it was sufficient that I heard of it. Then I asked him to let me see his order. Whereupon he laid his hand on his sword and said, I must go with him before the lieutenants to answer such questions as they should propound to me. I told him it was but civil and reasonable for him to let me see his order; but he would not. Then said I, I am ready. So I went along with him; and Margaret Fell went with us to Houlker-Hall. And when we came thither, there was one Rawlinson, called a justice, and one called Sir George Middleton, and many more that I did not know; besides old Justice Preston who lived there. They brought one Thomas Atkinson, a friend of Cartmel, as a witness against me for some words which he had told to one Knipe, who had informed them; which words were, That I had written against the plotters, and had knocked them down; which words they could not make much of; for I told them I had heard of a plot, and had written against it.

Then said George Middleton, You deny God and the church and the faith. I replied, Nay; I own God and the true church and the true faith. But what church dost thou own? said I (for I understood he was a Papist). Then he turned again and said, You are a rebel and a traitor. I asked him whom he spake to? or whom did he call rebel?

He was so full of envy that for a while he could not speak; but at last he said, He spake it to me. With that I struck my hand on the table and told him, I had suffered more than twenty such as he, or than any that was there; for I had been cast into Derby prison for six months together, and had suffered much because I would not take up arms against this king before Worcester fight; and I had been sent up prisoner out of my own country by Colonel Hacker to O. Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in King Charles, in the year 1654; and I had nothing but love and good will to the king, and desired the eternal good and welfare of him and all his subjects. Did you ever hear the like? said Middleton. Nay, said I, ye may hear it again if ye will. For ye talk of the king, a company of you; but where were ye in Oliver's days? and what did ye do then for him? But I have more love to the king for his eternal good and welfare than any of you have.

Then they asked me, Whether I had heard of the plot? And I said, Yes, I had heard of it. They asked me, How I had heard of it, and whom I knew in it? I told them, I had heard of it through the high-sheriff of Yorkshire, who had told Dr. Hodgson that there was a plot in the north; and that was the way I heard of it; but I never heard of any such thing in the south, nor till I came into the north. And as for knowing any in the plot, I was as a child in that; for I knew none of them. Then said they, Why would you write against it if you did not know some that were in it? I said, My reason was, because you are so forward to mash the innocent and guilty together, therefore I writ against it to clear the truth from such things, and to stop all forward, foolish spirits from running into such

things. And I sent copies of it into Westmoreland, Cumberland, Bishoprick, and Yorkshire, and to you here; and I sent another copy of it to the king and his council; and it is like it may be in print by this time. One of them said, O! this man hath great power. I said, Yes, I had power to write against plotters. Then said one of them, You are against the laws of the land. I answered, Nay; for I and my friends direct all the people to the Spirit of God in them to mortify the deeds of the flesh; this brings them into the well-doing, and from that which the magistrate's sword is against. So in this we establish the law, and are an ease to the magistrates, and are not against, but stand for, all good government.

Then George Middleton cried, Bring the book and put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to him. Now he himself being a Papist, I asked him, Whether he had taken the oath of supremacy, who was a swearer? But as for us, we could not swear at all, because Christ and the Apostle had forbidden it. Some of them would not have had the oath put to me, but have let me have my liberty; but the rest would not agree to that; for this was their last snare, and they had no other way to get me into prison; for all other things had been cleared to them. But this was like the Papists' sacrament of the altar, by which they ensnared the martyrs. So they tendered me the oath, and I could not take it; whereupon they were about to make my mittimus to send me to Lancaster jail; but considering together of it, they only engaged me to appear at the sessions; and so for that time dismissed me. Then I went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore.

Now whilst I was at Swarthmore, there came William

Kirby into Swarthmore meeting, and brought the constables with him. I was sitting with Friends in the meeting, and he said to me, How now, Mr. Fox; you have a fine company here. Yes, said I, we do meet to wait upon the Lord. So he began to take the names of Friends; and them that did not readily tell him their names, he committed to the constables' hands, and sent some to prison. The constables were unwilling to take them without a warrant; whereupon, he threatened to set them by the heels: but the constable told him he could keep them in his presence, but after he was gone he could not keep them without a warrant.

The sessions now coming on, I went to Lancaster, and appeared according to my engagement. There was upon the bench that Justice Flemming that had bidden five pounds in Westmoreland to any man that would apprehend me, for he was a justice both in Westmoreland and Lancashire. There was also Justice Spencer and Colonel West, and old Justice Rawlinson, the lawyer, who gave the charge, and was very sharp against truth and Friends: but the Lord's power stopped them. The session was large, and the concourse of people great; and, way being made for me, I came up to the bar, and stood there with my hat on, they looking earnestly upon me, and I upon them, for a pretty space. Then proclamation being made for all to keep silence upon pain of imprisonment, and, all being quiet, I said twice, Peace be among you. Then spake the chairman, and asked if I knew where I was. I said, Yes, I do; but it may be, said I, my hat offends you—that 's a low thing; that 's not the honour that I give to magistrates, for the true honour is from above, which, said I,

I have received; and I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour. The chairman said they looked for the hat too; and asked wherein I showed my respect to magistrates if I did not put off my hat. I replied, In coming when they called me. Then they bid one take off my hat. After which it was some time before they spake to me, and I felt the power of the Lord to arise. After some pause, old Justice Rawlinson (the chairman) asked me if I did know of the plot. I told him, I had heard of it in Yorkshire by a Friend, that had it from the high sheriff. Then they asked me whether I had declared it to the magistrates. I said, I had sent papers abroad against plots and plotters, and also to you, as soon as I came into the country, to take all jealousies out of your minds concerning me and my friends; for it was, and is, our principle to declare against such things. They asked me then if I knew not of an act against meetings. I said, I knew there was an act that took hold of such as met to the terrifying of the king's subjects and were enemies to the king, and held dangerous principles, but I hoped they did not look upon us to be such men, for our meetings were not to terrify the king's subjects; neither are we enemies to him or any man. Then they tendered me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. I told them, I could not take any oath at all, because Christ and his apostle had forbid it; and they had had sufficient experience of swearers (I told them) first one way, then another, but I had never taken any oath in my life. Then Rawlinson, the lawyer, asked me whether I held it was unlawful to swear. This question he put on purpose to ensnare me, for, by an act that was made, such were liable to banish-

ment, or a great fine, that should say it was unlawful to swear. But I, seeing the snare, avoided it, and told him, That in the time of the law, amongst the Jews, before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear; but Christ, who doth fulfil the law, in his gospel time commands not to swear at all; and the apostle James forbids swearing, even to them that were Jews, and that had the law of God. So, after much other discourse had passed, they called for the jailer, and committed me to prison. I had about me that paper which I had written as a testimony against plots, which I desired they would read, or suffer to be read, in open court, but they would not. So, I being committed for refusing to swear, I bid them, and all the people, take notice that I suffered for the doctrine of Christ, and for my obedience to his command. Afterwards, I understood, the justices did say that they had private instructions from Colonel Kirby to prosecute me, notwithstanding his fair carriage and seeming kindness to me before, when he declared before many of them that he had nothing against me. There were several Friends besides committed to prison, some for meeting to worship God, and some for not swearing; so that the prison was very full.

Amongst those that were then in prison there were four Friends, prisoners for tithes, who were sent to prison at the suit of the Countess of Derby (so called), and had lain there then near two years and a half. One of these, whose name was Oliver Atherton, being a man of a weakly constitution, was, through his long and hard imprisonment in a cold, raw, unwholesome place, brought so low and weak in his body that there appeared no hopes of his recovery

or life, unless he might be removed from thence. Wherefore a letter was written on behalf of the said Oliver Atherton to the said countess, and sent by his son, Godfrey Atherton, wherein was laid before her the reasons why he and the rest could not pay tithes, because, if they did, they should deny Christ come in the flesh, who, by his coming, had put an end to tithes and to the priesthood to which they had been given, and to the commandment by which they had been paid under the law. And his weak condition of body was also laid before her, and the apparent likelihood of his death, if she did continue to hold him there, that she might be moved to pity and compassion; and also warned not to draw the guilt of his innocent blood upon herself. But when his son went to her with his father's letter, a servant of hers abused him, and plucked off his cap and threw it away, and put him out of the gate. Nevertheless, the letter was delivered into her own hand, but she shut out all pity and tenderness, and continued him in prison till death. So when his son came back to his father in prison and told him, as he lay on his dying bed, that the countess denied his liberty, he only said she hath been the cause of shedding much blood, but this will be the heaviest blood that ever she spilt; and soon after he died. Then, Friends having his body delivered to them to bury, as they carried it from the prison to Ormskirk, the parish wherein he had lived, they stuck up papers upon the crosses at Garstang, Preston, and other towns through which they passed, with this inscription: This is Oliver Atherton, of Ormskirk parish, persecuted to death by the Countess of Derby for good conscience' sake towards God and Christ, because he could not give her tithes, etc.

Setting forth at large the reasons of his refusing to pay tithes, the length of his imprisonment, the hardships he underwent, her hard-heartedness towards him, and the manner of his death. But she, that regarded not the life of an innocent sufferer for Christ, lived not long after herself; for, that day three weeks that Oliver Atherton's body was carried through Ormskirk to be buried, she died, and her body was carried dead that day seven weeks through the same town to her burying-place. And thus the Lord pursued the hard-hearted persecutor.

As for me, I was kept to the assize; and then, Judge Turner and Judge Twisden coming that circuit, I was brought before Judge Twisden, on the 14th day of the month called March, in the latter end of the year 1663. When I was set up to the bar, I said, Peace be amongst you all. The judge looked upon me, and said, What! do you come into the court with your hat on? Upon which words the jailer taking it off, I said, The hat is not the honour that comes from God. Then said the judge to me, Will you take the oath of allegiance, George Fox? I said, I never took any oath in my life, nor any covenant or engagement. Well, said he, will you swear or no? I answered, I am a Christian, and Christ commands me not to swear, and so does the apostle James likewise; and whether I should obey God or man, do thou judge. I ask you again, said he, Whether you will swear or no? I answered again, I am neither Turk, Jew, nor heathen, but a Christian, and should show forth Christianity. And I asked him, If he did not know that Christians in the primitive times, under the ten persecutions, and some also of the martyrs in Queen Mary's days, refused swearing, because Christ and the apostle

had forbidden it. For it is tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the commands of Christ, that I do not swear: and we have the word of a king for tender consciences. Then I asked the judge, If he did own the king? Yes, said he, I do own the king. Why then, said I, Dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England, that no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as they lived peaceably? Now, if thou ownest the king, said I, why dost thou call me into question, and put me upon taking an oath, which is a matter of religion, seeing thou nor none else can charge me with unpeaceable living? Then he was moved, and, looking angrily at me said, Sirrah, will you swear? I told him, I was none of his Sirrahs; I was a Christian: and for him, that was an old man, and a judge, to sit there and give nicknames to prisoners, it did not become either his gray hairs or his office. Well, said he, I am a Christian too. Then do Christians' works, said I. Sirrah, said he, thou thinkest to frighten me with thy words. Then, catching himself, and looking aside, he said, Hark! I am using the word [sirrah] again, and so checked himself. I said, I spake to thee in love, for that language did not become thee, a judge: thou oughtest to instruct a prisoner in the law, if he were ignorant and out of the way. And I speak in love to thee too, said he. But, said I, love gives no nicknames. Then he roused himself up, and said, I will not be afraid of thee, George Fox: thou speakest so loud, thy voice drowns mine and the court's. I must call for three or four criers, to drown thy voice: thou hast good lungs. I am a prisoner here, said I, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake; for his sake do I suffer, and for Him do I

stand this day: and if my voice were five times louder, yet I should lift it up, and sound it out for Christ's sake; for whose cause I stand this day before your judgment-seat, in obedience to Christ, who commands not to swear, before whose judgment-seat you must all be brought, and must give an account. Well, said the judge, George Fox, say whether thou wilt take the oath, yea or nay. I replied, I say, as I said before, whether ought I to obey God or man, judge thou. If I could take any oath at all I should take this. Then you will not swear, said the judge. Take him away, jailer. I said, It is for Christ's sake that I cannot swear, and for obedience to his command I suffer; and so the Lord forgive you all. So the jailer took me away; but I felt the mighty power of the Lord was over them all.

Sometime before this assize Margaret Fell was sent prisoner to Lancaster jail by Flemming, Kirby, and Preston, justices; and at the assize the oath was tendered to her also, and she was committed again to prison, to lie till the next assize.

When I was prisoner at Lancaster, there was prisoner also one Major Wiggan, a Baptist preacher. Whilst he was in Lancaster castle, he challenged Friends to have a dispute with them; whereupon, I got leave of the jailer to go up to them; and, entering into discourse with him, he affirmed, That some men never had the spirit of God, and that the true light, which enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, is natural. For proof of his first assertion, he instanced Balaam, affirming that Balaam had not the spirit of God. I affirmed, and proved, that Balaam had the spirit of God, and that wicked men have the spirit of God, else how could they quench it and vex it and

grieve it, and resist the Holy Ghost, like the stiff-necked Jews? To his second assertion I answered, that the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, was the life in the Word; and that was divine and eternal, and not natural, and he might as well say that the Word was natural, as that the life in the Word was natural; and wicked men were enlightened by this light, else how could they hate it? Now, it is expressly said that they did hate it; and the reason given why they did hate it was because their deeds were evil, and they would not come to it because it reproved them, and that must needs be in them that reproved them. Besides, that light could not be the Scriptures of the New Testament, for it was testified of before any part of the New Testament was written. So it must be the divine light, which is the life in Christ the Word, before Scriptures were. And the grace of God, which brought salvation, had appeared unto all men, and taught the saints; but they that turned it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against the spirit of grace were the wicked. Again, the Spirit of Truth, the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, which leads the disciples of Christ into all truth, the same should reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, and of their unbelief. So the wicked world had it to reprove them; and the true disciples and learners of Christ, that believed in the light, as Christ commands, they had it to lead them. But the world, that did not believe in the light, though they were lighted, but hated the light, which they should have believed in, and loved the darkness rather than it, this world had a righteousness and a judgment, which the Holy Ghost reproved them for, as well as for their unbelief.

In the sixth month, 1664, the assizes were held again at Lancaster. After they had tried several others, they called me to the bar, and impanelled a jury; and then the judge asked the justices, Whether they had tendered me the oath at the sessions? Now when the jury were sworn, and the justices had sworn, That they had tendered me the oath, according to the indictment, then the judge asked me, Whether I had not refused the oath at the last assizes? I said, I never took oath in my life; and Christ, the Saviour and Judge of the world, said, Swear not at all. I spake to the jury, and told them, That they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment, for the indictment was wrong laid, and had many gross errors in it. And I told the jury, It lay upon their consciences, as they would answer it to the Lord God before his judgment-seat. Then the judge spake again to the jury; and I bid him do me justice. So the jury brought me in guilty. Whereupon I told them, That both the justices, and they too, had foresworn themselves; and therefore they had small cause to laugh, as they did a little before. Oh, the envy and rage and malice that was there against me, and the lightness! But the Lord confounded them, and they were wonderfully stopped. So they set me aside, and called up Margaret Fell, who had a great deal of good service amongst them; and then the court brake up near the second hour.

Next day, towards the eleventh hour, we were called forth again to hear the sentence; and Margaret Fell being called first to the bar, she had some counsels to plead, who found many errors in her indictment: whereupon, after the judge had acknowledged them, she was set by. Then the judge asked, What they could say to mine? Now, I was not

willing to let any man plead for me, but to speak to it myself; and, indeed, though Margaret had some that pleaded for her, yet she spake as much herself as she would. But before I came to the bar, I was moved in my spirit to pray, That God would confound their wickedness and envy, and set his truth over all, and exalt his seed. And the Lord heard and answered, and did confound them in their proceedings against me. And, though they had most envy against me, yet the most gross errors were found in my indictment.

Now, I having put by others from pleading for me, the judge asked me, What I had to say why he should not pass sentence upon me? I told him, I was no lawyer, but I had much to say, if he would but have patience to hear. At that he laughed, and others laughed also, and said, Come, what have you to say? He can say nothing. Yes, said I, I have much to say: have but the patience to hear me. Then I asked him, Whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes? He said, To the subjects of this realm. Then said I, Look the indictment, and ye may see that ye have left out the word subject; so, not having named me in the indictment as a subject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking an oath. Then they looked the statute and the indictment, and saw that it was as I said, and the judge confessed it was an error.

[George Fox having pointed out several other errors in the indictment,] the judge did acknowledge these also to be great errors. But, said I, I have not yet done: I have yet something further to allege. Nay, said the judge, I have enough: you need say no more. If, said I, thou hast

enough, I desire nothing but law and justice at thy hands, for I don't look for mercy. You must have justice, said he, and you shall have law. Then I asked, Am I at liberty, and free from all that ever hath been done against me in this matter? Yes, said the judge, you are free from all that hath been done against you. But then, starting up in a rage, he said, I can put the oath to any man here; and I will tender you the oath again. I told him, He had examples enough yesterday of swearing and false swearing, both in the justices and in the jury, for I saw before mine eyes that both justices and jury had foresworn themselves. The judge asked me, If I would take the oath? I bid him, Do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while, for what had I been imprisoned so long for? And I told him, I ought to be set at liberty. You are at liberty, said he, but I will put the oath to you again. Then I turned me about, and said, All people take notice this is a snare, for I ought to be set free from the jailer, and from this court. But the judge cried, Give him the book, and the sheriff and the justices cried, Give him the book. Then the power of darkness rose up in them like a mountain, and a clerk lift up a book to me. And I stood still, and said, If it be a Bible, give it me into my hand. Yes, yes, said the judge and justices, give it him into his hand. So I took it, and looked in it, and said, I see it is a Bible; I am glad of it. Now he had caused the jury to be called, and they stood by (for after they had brought in their former verdict, he would not dismiss them, though they desired it, but told them, He could not dismiss them yet, for he should have business for them, and therefore they must attend and be ready when they were called. And when he said so, I felt

his intent that if I was freed he would come on again). So I looked him in the face, and the witness of God started up in him, and made him blush when he looked at me again, for he saw that I saw him. Nevertheless, hardening himself, he caused the oath to be read to me, the jury standing by; and, when it was read, he asked me, Whether I would take the oath or no? Then, said I, Ye have given me a book here to kiss, and to swear on; and this book which ye have given me to kiss says, Kiss the Son, and the Son says in this book, Swear not at all; and so says also the apostle James. Now, said I, I say as the book says, and yet ye imprison me: how chance ye do not imprison the book for saying so? How comes it that the book is at liberty amongst you, which bids me not swear, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me? Why don't you imprison the book? Now as I was speaking this to them, and held up the Bible open in my hand, to show them the place in the book where Christ forbids swearing, they plucked the book out of my hand again, and the judge said, Nay, but we will imprison George Fox. Yet this got abroad over all the country as a by-word, That they gave me a book to swear on that commanded me not to swear at all, and that the Bible was at liberty and I in prison for doing as the Bible said.

In the afternoon I was brought up again. And the judge asked me, What I would say for myself? I bid them, Read the indictment, for I would not answer to that which I did not hear. The clerk read it, and as he read the judge said, Take heed it be not false again; but he read it, but in such a manner that I could hardly understand what he read. But when he had done, the judge asked me, What I said

to the indictment? I told him, At once hearing so large a writing read, and that at such a distance that I could not distinctly hear all the parts of it, I could not well tell what to say to it, but if he would let me have a copy of it, and give me time to consider of it, I should answer it. This put them to a little stand; but, after a while, the judge asked me, What time I would have? I said, Till the next assize. But, said he, What plea will ye now make? Are ye guilty or not guilty? I said, I am not guilty at all of denying swearing obstinately and wilfully; and as for those things mentioned in the oath as Jesuitical plots and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart; and if I could take any oath I should take that, but I never took any oath in all my life.

So, after some further discourse had passed, they committed me to prison again, there to lie till the next assize; and Colonel Kirby gave order to the jailer to keep me close, and suffer no flesh alive to come at me, for I was not fit, he said, to be discoursed with by men. Then was I put up into a smoky tower, where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick that it stood as dew upon the walls, and sometimes the smoke would be so thick that I could hardly see the candle when it burned; and I, being locked under three locks, the under-jailer, when the smoke was great, would hardly be persuaded to come up to unlock one of the uppermost doors for fear of the smoke, so that I was almost smothered. Besides, it rained in upon my bed; and many times, when I went to stop out the rain in the cold winter season, my shirt would be as wet as muck with the rain that came in upon me while I was labouring to stop it out. And (the place being high and

open to the wind) sometimes as fast as I stopped it, the wind being high and fierce, would blow it out again. In this manner did I lie all that long, cold winter, till the next assize: in which time I was so starved with cold and rain that my body was greatly swelled and my limbs much benumbed.

The assize began on the 16th day of the month called March, 1664–5. At the assize before, Judge Turner had said to the officers in court, Pray see that all the oath be in the indictment, and that the word subject be in, and that the day of the month and year of the king be put in right, for it is a shame that so many errors should be seen and found in the face of the country; yet there were many errors, and those great ones, in this indictment, as well as in the former. And surely the hand of the Lord was in it to confound their mischievous work against me, and to blind them therein; insomuch that although, after the indictment was drawn at the former assize, the judge examined it himself, and tried it with the clerks, yet the word *subject* was left out of this indictment also, and the day of the month was put in wrong, and several material words of the oath were left out: yet they went on confidently against me, thinking all was safe and well. I asked him, Whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects only, or to the subjects of foreign princes? He replied, To the subjects of this realm; for I will speak nothing to you, said he, but in point of law. Then, said I, Look the indictment, and thou mayest see that the word *subject* is left out of this indictment also. And therefore, seeing the oath is not to be tendered to any but the subjects of this realm, and ye have not put me in as a subject,

the court is to take no notice of this indictment. I had no sooner spoke thus, but the judge cried, Take him away, jailer, take him away: so I was presently hurried away. And the jailer and people looked when I should be called for again, but I was never brought forth to the court any more, though I had many other great errors to assign in the indictment. But after I was gone the judge asked the jury, If they were agreed? And they said, Yes, and found for the king against me, as I was told. But I was never called to hear sentence given, nor was any sentence given against me that I could hear of. The judge had passed sentence of premunire upon Margaret Fell before I was brought before him, and it seems when I was hurried away so they recorded me as a premunired person, though I was never brought to hear the sentence, nor knew of it: which was very illegal.

While I was a prisoner in Lancaster Castle, there was a great noise and talk of the Turk's overspreading Christendom, and great fears entered many. But one day, as I was walking in my prison-chamber, I saw the Lord's power turn against him, and that he was turning back again, And I declared to some what the Lord had let me see, when there were such fears of his over-running Christendom; and within a month after, the news-books came down, wherein it was mentioned that they had given him a defeat.

Another time, as I was walking in my chamber with my eye to the Lord, I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn sword stretched southward, as though the court had been all on a fire. Not long after, the wars brake out with Holland, and the sickness brake forth, and afterwards the fire of London: so the Lord's sword was drawn indeed.

Now by reason of my long and close imprisonment in so bad a place, I was grown very weak of body; but the Lord's power was over all, and supported me through all, and enabled me to do service for Him and for his truth and people as the place would admit: for while I was in Lancaster Prison I answered several books.

After the assize at Lancaster was over, Colonel Kirby and some others of the justices were very uneasy with my being at Lancaster (for I had galled them sore at my trials there), and they laboured much to get me removed from thence to some remote place. Colonel Kirby threatened that I should be sent far enough; and sometimes he said, I should be sent beyond the seas. So about six weeks after the assizes they got an order from the king and council to remove me from Lancaster, and with it they brought a letter from the Earl of Anglesey, wherein was written, That if those things were found true against me which I was charged withal, I deserved no clemency nor mercy; and yet the greatest matter they had against me was because I could not disobey the command of Christ, and swear.

When they had prepared for my removal, the under-sheriff and the head-sheriff's man, with some bailiffs, came and fetched me out of the castle, when I was so weak with lying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison that I could hardly go or stand. They haled me out, and lifted me up upon one of the sheriff's horses. And when I was on horseback in the street, the town's people being gathered to gaze upon me, I told the officers I had received neither Christianity, civility, nor humanity from them. So they hurried me away about fourteen miles to Bentham, and I

was so very weak that I was hardly able to sit on horseback, and my clothes smelt so of smoke that they were loathsome to myself. And the wicked jailer, one Hunter, a young fellow, would come behind and give the horse a lash with his whip and make him skip and leap, that I, being weak, had much ado to sit him; and then he would come and look me in the face, and say, How do you, Mr. Fox? I told him, It was not civil in him to do so; but the Lord cut him off soon after.

When we were come to Scarborough, they had me to an inn, and gave notice to the governor, and he sent half a dozen soldiers to be my guard that night. Next day they conducted me up into the castle, and there put me into a room and set a sentry on me; and I, being so very weak, and subject to fainting, they for a while let me go out sometimes into the air with the sentry. They soon removed me out of this room and put me into an open room where the rain came in, and the room smoked exceedingly, which was very offensive to me. I was forced to lay out a matter of fifty shillings to stop out the rain, and keep the room from smoking so much. But when I had been at that charge, and made the room somewhat tolerable, they removed me out of it and put me into a worse room, where I had neither chimney nor fire-hearth. And the room being to the sea-side, and lying much open, the wind drove in the rain forcible, so that the water came over my bed and ran about the room, so that I was fain to skim it up with a platter. And when my clothes were wet I had no fire to dry them, that my body was numbed with cold, and my fingers swelled that one was grown as big as two; and, though I was at some charge on this room also, yet I could

not keep out the wind and rain. Besides, they would suffer few Friends to come at me, and many times not any: no, not so much as to bring me a little food; but I was forced, for the first quarter, to hire one of the world to bring me necessaries, and sometimes the soldiers would take it from her, and then she would scuffle with them for it. Afterwards I hired a soldier to fetch me water and bread, and something to make a fire of, when I was in a room where a fire could be made. Commonly a three-penny loaf served me three weeks, and sometimes longer; and most of my drink was water that had wormwood steeped or bruised in it.

Though they would not let Friends come to me, they would often bring others, either to gaze upon me or contend with me. One time there came a great company of papists to discourse with me, and they affirmed, The Pope was infallible, and had stood infallible ever since Peter's time. But I showed them the contrary by history; for one of the bishops of Rome, Marcellinus by name, denied the faith, and sacrificed to idols, and therefore he was not infallible. And I told them, if they were in the infallible spirit, they need not have jails, swords and staves, racks and tortures, fires and faggots, whips and gallows, to hold up their religion by, and to destroy men's lives about religion; for if they were in the infallible spirit they would preserve men's lives, and use none but spiritual weapons about religion.

There came another time the widow of him who was called the old Lord Fairfax, and with her a great company, and one of the company was a priest. I was moved to declare the truth to them; and the priest asked me, Why we said *thou* and *thee* to people, for he counted us but fools and idiots for speaking so? I asked him, Whether

they that translated the Scriptures, and that made the grammar and accidence, were fools and idiots, seeing they translated the Scriptures so and made the grammar so, *thou* to one, and *you* to more than one, and left it so to us? And if they were fools and idiots, then why had not he, and such as he, that looked upon themselves as wise men, and that could not bear *thou* and *thee* to a singular, altered the grammar, accidence and Bible, and put the plural instead of the singular?

With such sorts of people I was much exercised while I was there, for most that came to the castle would desire to speak with me, and great disputes and reasonings I had with them. But as to Friends, I was as a man buried alive; for, though many Friends came from far to see me, yet few were suffered to come at me; and when any Friend came into the castle about business, if he looked but towards me, they would rage at him. And the officers would often be threatening me, That I should be hanged over the wall. Nay, the deputy-governour told me one time, That the king, knowing that I had a great interest in the people, had sent me thither; that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang me over the wall, to keep the people down. And there being a while after a marriage at a papist's house, upon which occasion a great many of them were met together, they talked much then of hanging me. But I told them, If that was it they desired, and it was permitted them, I was ready, for I never feared death nor sufferings in my life, but I was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from all stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men. But afterwards, the governour growing kinder

I spake to him, when he was to go to London to the parliament, and desired him to speak to him that was called Esquire Marsh, and to Sir Francis Cob (so called), and to some others, and let them know how long I had lain in prison, and for what; and he did so. And when he came down again he told me that Esquire Marsh said he would go an hundred miles barefoot for my liberty, he knew me so well; and several others, he said, spake well of me, From which time the governour was very loving to me.

There were great imprisonments in this and the former years while I was prisoner at Lancaster and Scarborough. At London many Friends were crowded into Newgate and other prisons where the sickness was, and many Friends died in prison. Many Friends also were banished, and several sent on shipboard by the king's order. Some masters of ships would not carry them, but set them on shore again; yet some were sent to Barbadoes and to Jamaica and to Mevis, and the Lord blessed them there.

After I had lain prisoner above a year in Scarborough Castle, I sent a letter to the king, in which I gave him an account of my imprisonment and the bad usage I had had in prison, and also that I was informed no man could deliver me but he. After this, John Whitehead, being at London, and having acquaintance also with him that was called Esquire Marsh, he went to visit him, and spake to him about me. So John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes drew up a relation of my imprisonment and sufferings, and carried it to Marsh; and he went with it to the master of requests, who procured an order from the king for my release.

After I was released, I would have given the governour something for the civility and kindness he had of late showed me, but he would not receive anything, but said, Whatever good he could do for me and my Friends he would do it, and never do them any hurt. And afterwards, if at any time the mayor of the town sent to him for soldiers to break up Friends' meetings, if he sent any down he would privately give them a charge not to meddle; and so he continued loving to his dying day. The officers also and the soldiers were mightily changed and grown very respectful to me, and when they had occasion to speak of me they would say, He is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell, for we could never bow him.

The very next day after I was released from Scarborough prison, the fire brake out at London, and the report of it came quickly down into the country. Then I saw the Lord God was true and just in his word which He had showed me before in Lancaster jail when I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn sword southward, as is before expressed.

After I had passed through many counties, visiting Friends, and had had many large and precious meetings amongst them, I came at last to London. But I was so weak with lying almost three years in cruel and hard imprisonments, and my joints and my body were so stiff and benumbed that I could hardly get on my horse or bend my joints, nor well bear to be near the fire or to eat warm meat, I had been kept so long from it. Being come to London, I walked a little among the ruins, and took good notice of them, and I saw the city lying according as the word of the Lord came to me concerning it several years before.

Though I was very weak, yet I travelled up and down in the service of the Lord, and the Lord enabled me to go through in it.

About this time, some that had run out from truth and clashed against Friends, were reached unto by the power of the Lord, which came wonderfully over and made them condemn and tear their papers of controversies to pieces. Several meetings we had with them, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all, and set judgment on the head of that that had run out. And in these meetings (which lasted whole days) several that had run out with John Parrott and others came in again, and condemned that spirit that led them to keep on their hats when Friends prayed and when they themselves prayed; and some of them said that Friends were more righteous than they, and that if Friends had not stood they had been gone and had fallen into perdition. And thus the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested, and came over all.

Then I was moved of the Lord to recommend the setting up of five monthly meetings of men and women in the city of London (besides the women's meetings and the quarterly meetings) to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly or carelessly and not according to truth. For whereas Friends had had only quarterly meetings, now truth was spread, and Friends were grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the setting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation. And the Lord opened to me and let me see what I must do, and how the men's and women's monthly and quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in this nation and in other nations, and that I should write to them where

I came not, to do the same. So, after things were well settled at London, and the Lord's truth and power and seed and life reigned and shined over all in the city, then I passed forth into the countries again, and went down into Essex; and, after the monthly meetings were settled in that county, I went from thence into Suffolk and Norfolk, Thomas Dry being with me. And when we had visited Friends in their meetings in those parts, and the monthly meetings were settled there, we passed from thence and went into Huntingtonshire, where we had very large and blessed meetings; and, though we met with some opposition there, yet the Lord's power came over all, and the monthly meetings were established there also. When we came into Bedfordshire, we had great opposition, but the Lord's power came over it all. Afterwards we went into Nottinghamshire, where we had many precious meetings, and the monthly meetings were settled there. Then, passing into Lincolnshire, we had a meeting of some men Friends of all the meetings in the county at his house who had been formerly sheriff of Lincoln, and all was quiet. After this meeting we passed over Trent into Nottinghamshire again (he that had been the sheriff of Lincoln being with me), where we had some of all the meetings in that county together, and our meeting was glorious and peaceable: and many precious meetings we had in that county.

From thence we passed into Leicestershire, and so into Warwickshire, where many blessed meetings we had, and the order of the gospel was set up, and the men's monthly meetings established in all those counties. Then we went into Derbyshire, where we had several large and blessed meetings; and in many places we were threatened by the

officers, but, through the power of the Lord, we escaped their hands. So, leaving things well settled in Derbyshire, we travelled over the Peak Hills (which were very cold, for it was then frost and snow), and so came into Staffordshire; and at Thomas Hammersley's we had a general men's meeting, where things were well settled in the gospel order, and the monthly meetings were established there also. But I was so exceeding weak I was hardly able to get on or off my horse's back; but my spirit being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having confidence in the Lord that He would carry me through, as He did by his power. So we came into Cheshire, where we had several blessed meetings, and a general men's meeting, wherein all the monthly meetings for that county were settled, according to the gospel order, in and by the power of God. So, after I had cleared myself there in the Lord's service, I passed into Lancashire, to William Barnes's, near Warrington, where met some of most of the meetings in that county, and there all the monthly meetings were established in the gospel order also. From thence I sent papers into Westmoreland by Leonard Fell and Robert Widders, and also into Bishoprick, Cleaveland, and Northumberland, and into Cumberland and Scotland, to exhort Friends to settle the monthly meetings in the Lord's power in those places, which they did. And so the Lord's power came over all, and the heirs of it came to inherit it. For the authority of our meetings is the power of God, the gospel, which brings life and immortality to light, that they may see over the Devil that hath darkened them, and that all

the heirs of the gospel might walk according to the gospel, and glorify God with their bodies, souls, and spirits, which are the Lord's; for the order of the glorious gospel is not of man, nor by man.

There was about this time a proclamation against meetings, and, as we came through Herefordshire, we were told of a great meeting there was of the Presbyterians, who had engaged themselves to stand and give up all rather than forsake their meetings. But when they heard of this proclamation the people came, but the priest was gone, and then they were at a loss. Then they met in Lemster privately, and provided bread and cheese and drink in readiness, that if the officers should come they would put up their Bibles and fall to eating.

Now, as I was lying in bed at Bristol, the word of the Lord came to me that I must go back to London. Next morning, Alexander Parker and several others came to me, and I asked them, What they felt? They, in like manner, asked me, What was upon me? I told them I felt I must return to London, and they said the same was upon them. So we gave up to return to London, for which way the Lord moved and led us, thither we went in his power. Wherefore, leaving Bristol, we passed into Wiltshire, and established the men's monthly meetings in the Lord's power there, and then passed through the countries, visiting Friends, till we came to London.

After we had visited Friends in the city, and had stayed there a while, I was moved to exhort them to bring all their marriages to the men's and women's meetings, that they might lay them before the faithful there, that so care might be taken to prevent those disorders that had been

committed by some; for many had gone together in marriage contrary to their relations' minds, and some young, raw people that came among us had mixed with the world, and widows had married and had not made provision for their children by their former husbands before their second marriage. And, although I had given forth a paper concerning marriages about the year 1653, when truth was but little spread over the nation, advising Friends who might be concerned in that case, That they might lay it before the faithful in time, before anything were concluded, and afterwards publish it in the end of a meeting or in a market (as they were moved thereto); and when all things were found clear, they being free from all others, and their relations satisfied, then they might appoint a meeting on purpose for the taking of each other, in the presence of at least twelve faithful witnesses. Yet these directions not being observed, and truth being now more spread over the nation, it was therefore ordered by the same power and Spirit of God, That marriages should be laid before the men's monthly and quarterly meetings, or as the meetings were then established, that Friends might see that the relations of those that proceeded to marriage were satisfied, and that the parties were clear from all others, and that widows had made provision for their first husbands' children before they married again, and what else was needful to be inquired into, that so all things might be kept clean and pure and done in righteousness to the glory of God. And afterwards it was ordered in the same wisdom of God, That if either of the parties that intended to marry came out of another nation, county, or monthly meeting, they should bring a certificate from the monthly meet-

ing to which they belonged, for satisfaction of the monthly meeting before which they came to lay their intentions of marriage.

Now after these things, with many other services for God, were set in order and settled in the churches in the city, I passed out of London, in the leadings of the Lord's power, into the country again; and, going into Hertfordshire, after I had visited Friends there, and the men's monthly meetings were settled there, I passed on as far as Baldock, where I had a great meeting of many sorts of people. Then, returning towards London by Waltham, I advised the setting up of a school there for teaching boys, and also a women's school to be set up at Shacklewell for instructing girls and young maidens in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation.

We came to a place near Mynhead, where we had a general meeting of the men Friends in Somersetshire, and there came also a cheat, whom some friendly people would have had me to have taken along with me. I saw he was a cheat, and therefore bid them bring him to me, and see whether he could look me in the face. Some were ready to think I was too hard towards him, because I would not let him go along with me; but when they brought him to me he was not able to look me in the face, but looked hither and thither; for he was indeed a cheat, and had cheated a priest by pretending himself to be a minister, and had got the priest's suit and went away with it.

The next day several Friends of Mynhead accompanied us as far as Barnstable and Appledon, in Devonshire, where we had a meeting. Barnstable had been a bloody, persecuting town; for there were two men Friends of that town

that had been a great while at sea; and, coming home to visit their relations (one of them having a wife and children), the mayor of the town sent for them, under pretence to discourse with them, and put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to them; and, because they could not swear, he sent them to Exeter jail, where Judge Archer premunired them, and kept them till one of them died in prison. When I heard of this, I was moved to write a letter to Judge Archer, and another to that mayor of Barnstable, laying their wicked and unchristian actions upon their heads, and letting them know that the blood of that man would be required at their hands.

At Loveday Hambley's we had a general meeting for all the county, in which the monthly meetings were settled in the Lord's power and in the blessed order of the gospel, that all who were faithful might admonish and exhort such as walked not according to the gospel, that so the house of God might be kept clean, and righteousness might run down, and all unrighteousness be swept away. And several that had run out were brought to condemn what they had done amiss, and through repentance came in again.

Having visited Friends through the country, we passed on into Kent, where, after we had been at several meetings, we had a general meeting for the men Friends of that county; there also the men's monthly meetings for that county were settled in the power of God and established in the order of the gospel, for all the heirs of it to enter into their services and care in the church for the glory of God. And Friends rejoiced in the order of the gospel, and were glad of the settlement thereof, which is not of man, nor by man. Thus were the men's monthly meetings set-

tled through the nation. I writ also into Ireland by faithful Friends, and into Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and other parts of America, advising Friends to settle their men's monthly meetings in those countries also. And since the time these meetings have been settled many mouths have been opened in thanksgivings and praise, and many have blessed the Lord God that ever He did send me forth in this service; yea, with tears have many praised the Lord. For now all coming to have a concern and care for God's honour and glory that his name be not blasphemed which they do profess, and to see that all who profess the truth do walk in the truth in righteousness and in holiness which becomes the house of God, and that all order their conversations aright that they may see the salvation of God; all having this care upon them for God's glory, and being exercised in his holy power and spirit in the order of the heavenly life and gospel of Jesus, here they may all see and know, possess and partake of the government of Christ, of the increase of which there is to be no end. Thus the Lord's everlasting renown and praise is set up in every one's heart that is faithful, so that we can now say that the gospel order established amongst us is not of man, nor by man, but of and by Jesus Christ, in and through the Holy Ghost.

After I had travelled amongst Friends through most parts of the nation, and the monthly meetings were settled, being returned to London, I stayed some time there, visiting Friends' meetings in and about the city. While I was in London I went one day to visit him that was called Esquire Marsh, who had shewed much kindness both to me and to Friends, and I happened to go when he was at

dinner. He no sooner heard my name, but he sent for me up, and would have had me sit down with him to dinner, but I had not freedom to do so. There were several great persons at dinner with him, and he said to one of them, who was a great Papist, Here is a Quaker which you have not seen before. The Papist asked me, Whether I did own the christening of children? I told him, There was no Scripture for any such practice. What! said he, not for christening children? I said, Nay, I told him, the one baptism by the one spirit into one body we owned, but to throw a little water on a child's face and say that was baptizing and christening it, there was no Scripture for that. Then he asked me, Whether I did own the Catholic faith? I said, Yes; but added, That neither the Pope nor the Papists were in that Catholic faith, for the true faith works by love and purifies the heart, and if they were in that faith that gives victory by which they might have access to God, they would not tell the people of a purgatory after they were dead. So I undertook to prove, That neither Pope nor Papists that held a purgatory hereafter were in the true faith; for the true, precious, divine faith, which Christ is the author of, gives victory over the devil and sin, that had separated man and woman from God. And if they (the Papists) were in the true faith they would never use racks, prisons, and fines to persecute and force others to their religion that were not of their faith; for this was not the practice of the apostles and primitive Christians who witnessed and enjoyed the true faith of Christ, but it was the practice of the faithless Jews and heathens so to do. But, said I to him, seeing thou art a great and leading man among the Papists, and hast been taught and

bred up under the Pope, and seeing thou sayest there is no salvation but in your church, I desire to know of thee what it is that doth bring salvation in your church? He answered, A good life. And nothing else? said I. Yes, said he, Good works. And is this it that brings salvation in your church, a good life and good works? Is this your doctrine and principle? said I. Yes, said he. Then, said I, neither thou nor the Pope, nor any of the Papists, know what it is that brings salvation. Then he asked me, What brought salvation in our church? I told him, That which brought salvation to the church in the apostles' days, the same brought salvation to us, and not another, namely, the grace of God, which, the Scripture says, brings salvation and hath appeared to all men, which taught the saints then, and teaches us now; and this grace which brings salvation teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live godly, righteously, and soberly. So it is not the good works nor the good life that brings the salvation, but the grace. What! said the Papist, doth this grace that brings salvation appear unto all men? Yes, said I. Then, said he, I deny that. But, I said, all that deny that are sect-makers, and are not in the universal faith, grace, and truth which the apostles were in. Then he spake to me about the mother-church, and I told him, The several sorts of sects in Christendom had accused us, and said we forsook our mother-church. The Papists charged us with forsaking their church, and they said Rome was the only mother-church; the Episcopalians taxed us with forsaking the old Protestant religion, and they said theirs was the reformed mother-church; the Presbyterians and Independents blamed us for leaving them, and each of them

said theirs was the right reformed church. But, I said, if we could own any outward city or place to be the mother-church, we should own outward Jerusalem, where the gospel was first preached by Christ himself and the apostles, where Christ suffered, where the great conversion to Christianity by Peter was, where were the types, figures, and shadows which Christ ended, and where Christ commanded his disciples to wait until they were endued with power from on high. So, if any outward place deserved to be called the mother that was the place where the first great conversion to Christianity was. But the apostle saith (Gal. iv. 25, 26), Jerusalem which now is is in bondage with her children; but Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. And though this title (mother) hath been given to places and sects amongst and by the degenerate Christians, yet we say still, as the apostle said of old, Jerusalem that is above is the mother of us all; and we can own no other, neither outward Jerusalem nor Rome nor any sect of people for our mother but Jerusalem which is above, which is free, the mother of us all that are born again and become true believers in the light, and who are grafted into Christ the heavenly vine. For all who are born again of the immortal seed by the word of God which lives and abides forever, feed upon the milk of the word, the breasts of life, and grow by it in life, and cannot acknowledge any other to be their mother but Jerusalem which is above. Oh! said Esquire Marsh to the Papist, you do not know this man: if he would but come to church now and then he would be a brave man.

After some other discourse together, I went aside with this Justice Marsh into another room, to speak with him

concerning Friends; for he was a justice of peace for Middlesex, and, being a courtier, the other justices put much of the management of matters upon him. Now when we two were alone together he told me he was in a straight how to act between us and some other Dissenters. For, said he, You cannot swear, and the Independents, Baptists, and Fifth-Monarchy people say also they cannot swear; and therefore, said he, how shall I know how to distinguish betwixt you and them, seeing they and you all say it is for conscience' sake that you cannot swear? Then, said I, I will shew thee how to distinguish; for they (or most of them) thou speakest of can and do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If a man should steal their cows or horses, and thou shouldest ask them whether they would swear they were theirs, many of them would readily do it. But if thou try our Friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. Therefore, when thou puttest the oath of allegiance to any of them ask them, Whether they can swear in any other case, as for their cow or horse? which, if they be really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the truth. Hereupon I gave him a relation of a trial in Barkshire, which was thus: A thief stole two beasts from a Friend of ours; the thief was taken, and cast into prison, and the Friend appeared against him at the assizes. But somebody having informed the judge that the man that prosecuted was a Quaker, and could not swear, the judge, before he heard what the Friend could say, said, Is he a Quaker? and will he not swear? Then tender him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. So he cast the Friend into prison, and premunired him, and let the thief go at liberty that had stolen his goods. When I

had related this case Justice Marsh said, That judge was a wicked man. But, said I, If we could swear in any case, we would take the oath of allegiance to the king, who is to preserve the laws that preserve every man in his estate. This Justice Marsh was afterwards very serviceable to Friends in this and other cases, for he kept several, both Friends and others, from being premunired in those parts where he was a justice. And when Friends have been brought before him in the times of persecution he set many of them at liberty: and when he could not avoid sending to prison, he sent some for a few hours or for a night. At length he went to the king and told him, He had sent some of us to prison contrary to his conscience, and he could not do so any more. Wherefore he removed his family from Limehouse, where he lived, and took lodgings near James's Park. He told the king, That if he would be pleased to give liberty of conscience, that would quiet and settle all, for then none could have any pretence to be uneasy. And indeed he was a very serviceable man to truth and Friends in his day.

We had great service at London this year, and the Lord's truth came over all, and many that had been out from truth came in again this year, confessing and condemning their former outgoings.

Now I was moved of the Lord to pass over into Ireland, to visit the seed of God in that nation, and there went with me Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs. When we came before Dublin we took boat and went ashore. We did not presently find Friends, but went to an inn, and sent out to inquire for some Friends, who, when they came to us, were exceeding glad of our coming, and received us with great joy.

He that was then mayor of Cork was very envious against truth and Friends, and had many Friends in prison; and, knowing that I was in the country, he had sent forth four warrants to take me; wherefore, Friends were desirous that I might not ride through Cork. But, being at Bandon, there appeared unto me in a vision a very ugly-visaged man, of a black and dark look. My spirit struck at him in the power of God, and it seemed to me that I rid over him with my horse, and my horse set his foot on the side of his face. When I came down in the morning I told a Friend that was with me that the command of the Lord was to me to ride through Cork, but bade him tell no man. So we took horse, many Friends being with me. And when we came near the town the Friends would have shewed me a way on the backside of the town, but I told them my way was through the streets. Wherefore, taking one of them along with me (whose name was Paul Morrice) to guide me through the town, I rode on; and, as we rode through the market-place and by the mayor's door, the mayor, seeing me ride by, said, There goes George Fox, but he had not power to stop me. When we had passed through the sentinels and were come over the bridge, we went to a Friend's house and alighted; and there the Friends told me what a rage was in the town, and how many warrants were granted forth to take me. While I was sitting there with Friends I felt the evil spirit at work in the town, stirring up mischief against me, and I felt the power of the Lord strike at that evil spirit. By and by, some other Friends coming in told me that it was over the town, and amongst the magistrates, that I was in the town. I said, Let the devil do

his worst. So, after a while, that Friends were refreshed one in another, and we who were travellers had refreshed ourselves, I called for my horse, and, having a Friend to guide me, we went on our way. But great was the rage that the mayor and others of Cork were in that they had missed me, and great pains they afterwards took to have taken me, having their scouts abroad upon the roads (as I understood) to observe which way I went. And afterwards there was scarce a public meeting I came to but there came spies to watch if I were there: and the envious magistrates and priests sent informations one to another concerning me, describing me by my hair, hat, clothes, and horse, so that when I was come near an hundred miles from Cork they had an account concerning me, and description of me, before I came amongst them. Yet the Lord disappointed all their counsels and defeated all their designs against me, and by his good hand of providence preserved me out of all their snares, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends and spread truth through that nation; for meetings were very large, Friends coming to them far and near, and the world's people flocking in. And the powerful presence of the Lord was preciously felt with and amongst us, whereby many of the world were reached and convinced and gathered to the truth, and the Lord's flock was increased, and Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted in feeling the love of God. Oh, the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! So that, in the power and spirit of the Lord, many together have broken out into singing, even with audible voices making melody in their hearts.

At which time I was moved to declare to Friends there

in the ministry as followeth: "Sound, sound abroad, you faithful servants of the Lord and witnesses in his name, and faithful servants and prophets of the Highest and angels of the Lord, . . . that you may awaken the dead, and awaken them that be asleep in their graves of sin, death, and hell, and sepulchres, and sea, and earth, and who lie in the tombs! Sound, sound abroad, ye trumpets, and raise up the dead, that the dead may hear the voice of the Son of God, the voice of the second Adam, that never fell; the voice of the light, and the voice of the life; the voice of the power, and the voice of the truth; the voice of the righteous, and the voice of the just! . . . Sound, sound it all abroad, ye trumpets, among the dead in Adam, for Christ is come, the second Adam, that they might have life; yea, have it abundantly!"

At James Hutchinson's, in Ireland, there came many great persons desirous to discourse with me about election and reprobation. I told them, Though they judged our principle foolish, it was too high for them, and they could not, with their wisdom, comprehend it, therefore I would discourse with them according to their capacities. You say (said I) that God hath ordained the greatest part of men for hell, and that they were ordained so before the world began, for which your proof is in Jude. And you say Esau was reprobated, and the Egyptians, and the stock of Ham; but Christ saith to his disciples, Go, teach all nations, and go into all nations and preach the gospel of life and salvation. Now, if they were to go to all nations, were they not to go to Ham's stock and Esau's stock? Did not Christ die for all? then for the stock of Ham and of Esau and the Egyptians. Doth not the Scripture say,

God would have all men to be saved? Mark, *all men;* then the stock of Esau and of Ham also. And doth not God say, Egypt my people, and that He would have an altar in Egypt? (Isa. xix.) Were there not many Christians formerly in Egypt? And doth not history say that the bishop of Alexandria would formerly have been Pope? And had not God a church in Babylon? I confess, The word came to Jacob and the statutes to Israel: the like was not to other nations. For the law of God was given to Israel, but the gospel was to be preached to all nations, and is to be preached: the gospel of peace and glad tidings to all nations; he that believes is saved, but he that doth not believe is condemned already: so the condemnation comes through unbelief. And whereas Jude speaks of some that were of old ordained (or written of before) to condemnation, he doth not say before the world began; but written of old may be referred to Moses his writings, who writ of those whom Jude mentions, namely, Cain, Corab, Balaam, and the angels that kept not their first estate. And such Christians as followed them in their way and apostatized from the first state of Christianity, such were and are ordained for condemnation by the light and truth which they are gone from. And, though the apostle speaks of God's loving Jacob and hating Esau, yet he tells the believers, We all were by nature children of wrath as well as others. This includes the stock of Jacob (of which the apostle himself was, and all believing Jews were): and thus both Jews and Gentiles were all concluded under sin, and so under condemnation, that God might have mercy upon all through Jesus Christ. So the election and choice stands in Christ; and he that believes is saved, and he

that believes not is condemned already. And Jacob is the second birth, which God loved; and both Jews and Gentiles must be born again before they can enter the kingdom of God. And when you are born again ye will know election and reprobation; for the election stands in Christ, the seed, before the world began, but the reprobation lies in the evil seed since the world began. After this manner, but somewhat more largely, I discoursed with those great persons about this matter, and they confessed they had never heard so much before.

Now after I had travelled over that nation of Ireland, and had visited Friends in their meetings, I returned to Dublin in order to take passage there for England. And when I had stayed the First-day's meeting there (which was very large and precious), there being a ship ready, and the wind serving, we took our leave of Friends, parting in much tenderness and brokenness in the sense of the heavenly life and power that was manifested amongst us, many Friends accompanying us to the ship, and divers, both Friends and friendly people, coming after us in boats when we were near a league at sea, their love drawing them, though not without danger. A good, weighty, and true people there is in that nation, sensible of the power of the Lord God and tender of his truth; and very good order they have in their meetings, for they stand up for righteousness and holiness, which dams up the way of wickedness: a precious visitation they had, and there is an excellent spirit in them, worthy to be visited.

We travelled through Gloucestershire till we came to Bristol, where I met with Margaret Fell, who was come to visit her daughter Yeomans there. I had seen from the

Lord, a considerable time before, that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife. And when I first mentioned it to her, she felt the answer of life from God thereunto. But, though the Lord had opened this thing unto me, yet I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishing of it then: wherefore, I let the thing rest, and went on in the work and service of the Lord as before, according as the Lord led me, travelling up and down in this nation and through the nation of Ireland. But now, after I was come back from Ireland and was come to Bristol, and found Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be now accomplished. And, after we had discoursed the thing together, I told her, If she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now she should first send for her children, which she did. And when the rest of her daughters were come I asked both them and her sons-in-law, If they had anything against it or for it? desiring them to speak, and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein. Then I asked Margaret, If she had fulfilled and performed her husband's will to her children? She replied, The children knew that. Whereupon I asked them, Whether, if their mother married, they should not lose by it? And I asked Margaret, Whether she had done anything in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children? The children said, She had answered it to them, and desired me to speak no more of that. I told them, I was plain, and would have all things done plainly, for I sought not any outward advantage to myself. So, after I had acquainted the children with it, our intention of marriage was laid before Friends, both privately and publicly, to the full satisfaction of Friends, many of

whom gave testimony thereunto that it was of God. Afterwards, a meeting being appointed on purpose for the accomplishing thereof in the public meeting-house at Broad-Mead, in Bristol, we took each other in marriage, the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal seed of life: in the sense whereof living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto by Friends in the movings of the heavenly power which united us together. Then was a certificate, relating both the proceedings and the marriage, openly read and signed by the relations and by most of the ancient Friends of that city, besides many other Friends from divers parts of the nation.

After we were married we stayed about a week in Bristol, and then went into the country together to Oldstone, where, taking our leaves of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves each to our several service, Margaret returning homewards to the North, and I passing on into the countries in the work of the Lord as before. I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting Friends: in all which counties I had many large and precious meetings.

I stayed not long in London; but, having visited Friends, and finding things there quiet and well, the Lord's power being over all, I passed down into Essex, and so into Hertfordshire, where I had many precious meetings. But before I went out of London, intending to go down as far as Leicestershire, I writ a letter to my wife to acquaint her therewith, that, if she found it convenient to her, she might meet me there. From Hertfordshire I turned into Cambridgeshire; thence into Huntingdonshire, and so into

Leicestershire, where, instead of meeting with my wife, I heard that she was haled out of her house and carried to Lancaster prison again by an order gotten from the king and council to fetch her back to prison upon the old premunire, though she had been discharged from that imprisonment by an order from the king and council the year before. Wherefore, having visited Friends as far as Leicestershire, I returned by Derbyshire into Warwickshire, and so through the countries that way to London again, having had many large and blessed meetings in the several counties I passed through, and had been sweetly refreshed with and amongst Friends in my travels.

As soon as I was got to London I hastened Mary Lower and Sarah Fell (two of my wife's daughters) to the king, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, and see if they could get a full discharge for her, that she might enjoy her estate and liberty without molestation. This was somewhat difficult at first to get; but, by diligent attendance on it, they at length obtained it, the king giving command to one called Sir John Otway to signify his pleasure therein by letter to the sheriff and others concerned therein in the country; which letter Sarah Fell, going down with her brother and sister Rous, carried with her to Lancaster, and by them I writ to my wife, as followeth:

My dear heart in the truth and life that changeth not. It was upon me that Mary Lower and Sarah should go to the king concerning thy imprisonment, and to Kirby, that the power of the Lord might appear over them all in thy deliverance. They went, and then they thought to have come down, but it was upon me to stay them a little longer,

that they might follow the business till it was effected, which it now is, and is here sent down. The late declaration of mine hath been very serviceable, people being generally satisfied with it. So no more, but my love in the holy seed. G. F.

The declaration here mentioned was a printed sheet, writ upon occasion of a new persecution stirred up. For by that time I was got back out of Leicestershire to London, a fresh storm was risen, occasioned (as it was thought) by that tumultuous meeting in a steeple-house in Wiltshire or Gloucestershire, where a contest happening between a Presbyterian priest and the priest of the parish, with their hearers on either side, the Common-Prayer book was cut to pieces, and other great disorders committed. From which (as it was said) some members of Parliament took advantage to get that Act passed against seditious conventicles, which soon after came forth and was turned against us, who, of all people, were free from sedition and tumult. Beside that declaration, I writ also another short paper on the occasion of that Act against meetings, opening our case to the magistrates as followeth:

Oh, friends, consider this Act, which limits us to five, that but five may meet: is this to do as ye would be done by? Would ye be so served yourselves? We own Christ Jesus as well as you, both his coming, death, and resurrection; and, if we be contrary-minded to you in some things, is not this the apostle's exhortation, To wait till God hath revealed it? Doth not he say, What is not of faith is sin? And, seeing we have not faith in things which ye would have us to do, would it not be sin in us if we

should do contrary to our faith? And why should any man have power over any other man's faith, seeing Christ is the author of it? . . . If such a law had been made in the apostles' days, that not above five might have met together who had been different-minded from either the Jews or the Gentiles, do you think the churches of Christ at Corinth, Philippi, Ephesus, Thessalonica, or the rest of the gathered churches would have obeyed it? Oh, therefore, consider! for we are Christians, and partake of the nature and life of Christ. And strive not to limit the Holy One, for God's power cannot be limited, and is not to be quenched. . . .

Now, as I had endeavoured to soften the magistrates, and to take off the sharpness of their edge in the execution of the Act, so it was upon me to write a few lines to Friends, to strengthen and encourage them to stand fast in their testimony, and bear with Christian patience and content the suffering that was coming upon them. This I did in the following epistle:

"All my dear Friends, keep in the faith of God above all outward things, and in his power that hath given you dominion over all. . . . And if so be that the Lord do suffer you to be tried, let all be given up; and look at the Lord and his power, which is over the whole world, and will be when the world is gone. And in the Lord's power and truth rejoice, Friends, over that which makes to suffer, in the seed which was before it was; for the life and truth and the power of God is over all. And all keep in that, and if ye do suffer in that it is to the Lord. Friends, the Lord hath blessed you in outward things, and now the Lord may try you whether your minds be in the outward things or with the Lord that gave you them. . . . What! shall not I pray,

and speak to God, with my face towards heavenly Jerusalem, according to my wonted time? . . .

On the First day of the week next after the Act came in force I went to the meeting at Grace-Church street, where I expected the storm was most likely to begin. When I came there I found the street full of people, and a guard set to keep Friends out of their meeting-house. I went thereupon to the other passage that goes out of Lombard street, and there also I found a guard; but the court was full of people, and a Friend was speaking amongst them, but spake not long. And when he had done I stood up, and was moved to say, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against that that pricks thee. Then I shewed that it is Saul's nature that persecutes still, and that they who persecute Christ in his members now, where He is made manifest, kick against that which pricks them; that it was the birth of the flesh that persecuted the birth born of the Spirit; and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the sheep; but that we suffered as sheep, that did not bite again, for we were a peaceable people, and did love them that persecuted us. After I had spoken a while to this effect, the constable came, with an informer and soldiers; and, as they plucked me down, I said, Blessed are the peace-makers! The commander of the soldiers put me among the soldiers, and bid them secure me, saying to me, You are the man I looked for. They took also John Burneyate and another Friend, and had us away first to the Exchange, and afterward towards Moorfields. As we went along the streets the people were very moderate, and some of them laughed at the constable, and told him we would not run away.

The informer went with us unknown, till, falling into discourse with one of the company, he said, It would never be a good world till all people came to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago. Whereupon I asked him, Art thou a Papist? What! a Papist informer? for two hundred years ago there was no other religion but that of the Papists. He saw he had ensnared himself, and was vexed at it, for, as he went along the streets, I spake often to him, and manifested what he was. When we were come to the mayor's house, and were in the court-yard, several of the people that stood about asked me how and for what I was taken. I desired them to ask the informer, and also know what his name was, but he refused to tell his name. Whereupon one of the mayor's officers, looking out at a window, told him, He should tell his name before he went away, for the lord mayor (he said) would know by what authority he intruded himself with soldiers into the execution of those laws which belonged to the civil magistrate to execute, and not to the military. After this he was restless and eager to be gone, and went to the porter to be let out. One of the officers called to him, saying, Have you brought people here to inform against, and now will you go away before my lord mayor comes? Some called to the porter not to let him out: whereupon he forcibly pulled open the door and slipped out. No sooner was he come out into the street but the people gave a shout that made the street ring again, crying out, A Papist informer! A Papist informer! We desired the constable and soldiers to go forth and rescue him out of the people's hands, fearing lest they should have done him a mischief. They went, and brought him into the mayor's entry, where we stayed a while; but

when he went out again the people received him with such another shout. Whereupon the soldiers were fain to go and rescue him once more, and then they had him into a house in an alley, where they persuaded him to change his perriwig, and so he got away unknown.

When the mayor came home we were brought into the room where he was, and some of his officers would have taken off our hats, which, he perceiving, called to them, and bid them let us alone, and not meddle with our hats; for (said he) they are not yet brought before me in judicature. So we stood by while he examined some Presbyterian and Baptist teachers, with whom he was somewhat sharp, and convicted them. After he had done with them I was brought up to the table where he sate, and then the officers took off my hat; and the mayor said mildly to me, Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man amongst those of your profession, pray, will you be instrumental to dissuade them from meeting in such great numbers, for (said he) seeing Christ hath promised that where two or three are met in his name He will be in the midst of them, and the king and parliament are graciously pleased to allow of four to meet together to worship God, why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three and the king's indulgence to four? I answered to this purpose: That Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in his name, but to encourage the few, that the fewest might not forbear to meet because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest his presence in the midst of so small an assembly, where but two or three were gathered in his name, how much more would his presence abound where two or three hundred

are gathered in his name? I wished him to consider whether this Act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his twelve apostles and seventy disciples (if it had been in their time), who used to meet often together, and that with great numbers? However, I told him this Act did not concern us, for it was made against seditious meetings of such as met, under colour and pretence of religion, to contrive insurrections, as (the Act says) late experience had shewn; but we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable, and therefore he should do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty. He said, The Act was made against meetings and a worship not according to the Liturgy. I told him "according to" was not the very same thing, and I asked him, Whether the Liturgy was according to the Scriptures? and whether we might not read Scriptures and speak Scriptures? He said, Yes. I told him, This Act took hold only of such as did meet to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience had shewn, but they had never experienced that by us. After this and some more discourse, he took our names and the places where we lodged; and at length, inasmuch as the informer was gone, set us at liberty.

After some time the heat of persecution in the city began to abate, and meetings were quieter there; and I, being then clear of the city, went to visit Friends in the country, having several meetings as I went in Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, which were quiet, though in some places there was much threatening. Afterwards we passed into Surrey, visiting Friends, and had many precious meetings. We went out of Surrey into Sussex. When I had thoroughly visited Sussex, I went into Kent, and had many

glorious and precious meetings in several parts of that county. Finding my service for the Lord finished there, we passed away towards Rochester. And on the way, as I was walking down a hill, a great weight and oppression fell upon my spirit: I got on my horse again, but the weight remained so heavy on me that I was hardly able to ride. At length we came to Rochester, but I was much spent, being so extremely loaden and burdened with the world's spirits that my life was oppressed under them. I rode with great uneasiness to Stratford, three miles from London, to a Friend's house there, whose name was Williams, and who had formerly been a captain. Here I lay exceeding weak, and at last lost both my hearing and my sight, so that I could neither hear nor see. Several Friends came thither to me from London, and I told them, That I should be as a sign to such as would not see and such as would not hear the truth. In this condition I continued a pretty while, and several people came about me; and, though I did not see their persons, yet I felt and discerned their spirits, who of them was honest-hearted and who was not. Divers Friends that practised physic came to see me, and would have given me physic, but I was not to meddle with any of their medicines, for I was sensible I had a travail to go through, and therefore spake to Friends to let none but solid, weighty Friends be about me. And under great sufferings and groanings and travails and sorrows and oppressions I lay for several weeks, whereby I was brought so low and weak in body that few thought I could have lived, and some that were with me went away, saying they would not see me die; and it was reported, both in London and in the country, that I was

deceased; but I felt the Lord's power inwardly supporting me, and when they that were about me had given me up to die, I spake to them to get a coach to carry me to Gerrard Robert's, about twelve miles off, for I found it was my place to go thither. I had now recovered a little glimmering sight, so that I could discern the people and fields as I went, and that was all. When I came to Gerrard's he was very weak, and I was moved to speak to him and encourage him. And, after I had stayed about there weeks there, it was with me to go to Enfield: Friends were afraid of my removing, but I told them I might safely go. And when I had taken my leave of Gerrard and was come to Enfield, I went first to visit Amor Stoddart, who lay there very weak, and almost speechless. I was moved to tell him, He had been faithful as a man and faithful to God, and that the immortal seed of life was his crown. And with many more words I was moved to speak to him, though I myself was then so weak I was hardly able to stand; and, within a few days after, Amor died. I went to the Widow Dry's, at Enfield, and there I lay all that winter, warring in spirit with the evil spirits of the world that warred against truth and Friends; for there were great persecutions at this time. Some meeting-houses were plucked down, and many were broken up by soldiers, who would come—sometimes a troop of horse or a company of foot—and they would break their swords, carbines, muskets, and pikes with beating Friends; and many Friends they wounded so that their blood lay in the streets.

But I was under great sufferings at this time, beyond what I have words to declare; for I was brought into the deep, and saw all the religions of the world and people that

lived in them, and the priests that held them up. And, as the great professing Jews did eat up God's people like bread, and the false prophets and priests then preached peace to people so long as they put into their mouths and fed them, but if they fed them not they prepared war against them, they ate their flesh off their bones and chopped them for the caldron, so these that profess themselves Christians now (both priests and professors), and were not in the same power and spirit that Christ and the holy prophets and apostles were in, were in the same nature that the old professing Jews were in, and were men-eaters as well as they. These stirred up persecution, and set the wicked informers on work, so that a Friend could hardly speak a few words in a private family, before they sate down to eat meat, but some were ready to inform against them—a particular instance of which I have heard as followeth: At Droitwich, Jo. Cartwright came to a Friend's house, and, being moved of the Lord to speak a few words before he sat down to supper, there came an informer and stood hearkening under the window. And when he had heard the Friend speak, hoping to get some gain to himself, he went and informed, and got a warrant to distrain the Friend's goods, under pretence that there was a meeting at his house; whereas there was none in the house at that time when the Friend spake before supper but himself, the man of the house, and his wife and their maid-servant. But this evil-minded man, as he came back with his warrant in the night, fell off of his horse and brake his neck. So there was a wretched end of a wicked informer, who hoped to have enriched himself by spoiling Friends;

but the Lord prevented him, and cut him off in his wickedness and spoiled him.

Now, though it was a cruel, bloody, persecuting time, yet the Lord's power went over all, and his everlasting seed prevailed, and Friends were made to stand firm and faithful in the Lord's power; and some of the sober people of the world would say, If Friends did not stand, the nation would run into debauchery.

But after some time it pleased the Lord to allay the heat of this violent persecution, and I felt in spirit an overcoming of the spirits of those men-eaters that had stirred it up and carried it on to that height of cruelty, though I was outwardly very weak. And I plainly felt, and those Friends that were with me and that came to visit me saw and took notice that, as the persecution ceased, I came from under the travails and sufferings that had lain with such weight upon me; so that towards the spring I began to recover, and to walk up and down, beyond the expectation of many who did not think I could ever have gone abroad again, I had been so exceeding weak through the travail and exercise that was upon my spirit.

Whilst I was under this spiritual travail and suffering, the state of the city New Jerusalem which comes down out of heaven was opened to me, which some carnal-minded people had looked upon to be like an outward city or town that had dropped out of the elements; but I saw the beauty and glory of it, the length, the breadth, and the height thereof, all in complete proportion. And I saw that all who are within the light of Christ and in his faith which he is the author of, and in the Spirit, the Holy Ghost, which Christ and the holy prophets and apostles were in,

and within the grace and truth, and within the power of God (that was before the devil was), which was the walls of the city, such are within the city, such are members of this city, and have right to eat of the tree of life, which yields her fruit every month, and whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. But they that are out of the grace, out of the truth, out of the light, spirit, and power of God; such as resist the Holy Ghost, quench, vex, and grieve the Spirit of God, and hate the light, and turn the grace of God into wantonness, and do despite to the spirit of grace; such as have erred from the faith and made shipwreck of it and of a good conscience, and abuse the power of God, and despise prophesying, revelation, and inspiration;—these are the dogs and unbelievers that are without the city. . . . Many things more did I see concerning the heavenly city, the New Jerusalem, which are hard to be uttered, and would be hard to be received. But, in short, this holy city is within the light; and all that are within the light are within the city, the gates whereof stand open all the day (for there is no night there), that all may come in; and Christ's blood being shed for every man, and he tasted death for every man, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and his grace, that brings salvation, having appeared to all men, there is no place or language but there his voice may be heard. . . . Christ, who is the first and last, sets man free, and is the resurrection of the just and unjust, the Judge of the quick and dead; and they that are in Him are invested with everlasting rest and peace, out of all the labours and travails and miseries of Adam in the fall. So he is sufficient, and of ability to restore man up into the state that man was in before he fell, and not into that state

only, but up into that state also that never fell, even to Himself.

I mentioned before, that upon the notice I received of my wife's being had to prison again, I sent two of her daughters to the king, and they procured his order to the sheriff of Lancashire for her discharge. But, though I expected she would have been set at liberty thereby, yet this violent storm of persecution coming suddenly on upon it, the persecutors there did not release her, but found means to hold her still in prison. But now, the persecution a little ceasing, I was moved to speak to Martha Fisher, and another woman Friend, to go to the king about her liberty. They went in the faith and in the Lord's power, and the Lord gave them favour with the king, so that he granted a discharge under the broad seal to clear both her and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner and premunired: the like whereof was scarce to be heard in England. I sent down the discharge forthwith by a Friend, by whom also I writ to her, both to inform her how to get it delivered to the justices, and also to acquaint her that it was upon me from the Lord to go beyond the seas, to visit the plantations in America; and therefore desired her to hasten up to London as soon as she could conveniently after she had obtained her liberty, because the ship was then fitting for the voyage.

I went down to Gravesend on the twelfth day of the sixth month, my wife and several Friends accompanying me to the Downs. We went from Wapping in a barge to the ship, which lay a little below Gravesend, and there we found the Friends that were bound for the voyage with me, who went down to the ship the night before. Their names

were Thomas Brigges, William Edmundson, John Rouse, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Elizabeth Myers. The vessel we were to go in was a yacht, and it was called The Industry; the master's name was Thomas Forster; and the number of passengers about fifty. Our yacht was counted a very swift sailer; but she was very leaky, so that the seamen and some of the passengers did for the most part pump day and night.

When we had been about three weeks at sea, one afternoon we espied a vessel about four leagues astern of us. Our master said, It was a Sally man-of-war, and he seemed to give us chase. Our master said, Come, let us go to supper, and when it grows dark we shall lose him. But this he spake to please and pacify the passengers, some of whom began to be very apprehensive of the danger. But Friends were well satisfied in themselves, having faith in God and no fear upon their spirits. When the sun was gone down I saw the ship out of my cabin, and I saw she made towards us. When it grew dark we altered our course to miss her, but she altered also, and gained upon us. At night the master and others came into my cabin and asked me what they should do. I told them, I was no mariner; and I asked them, What they thought was best to do? They said, There were but two ways—either to outrun him, or tack about and hold the same course we were going before. I told them, If he were a thief they might be sure he would tack about too; and, as for outrunning him, it was to no purpose to talk of that, for they saw he sailed faster than we. Then they asked me again, What they should

do? for (they said) if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they had not come to the damage they did. I told them, It was a trial of faith, and therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel. So, retiring in spirit, the Lord shewed me, That his life and power was placed between us and the ship that pursued us. I told this to the master and the rest, and that the best way was to tack about and steer our right course. I wished them also to put out all their candles but that they steered by, and to speak to all the passengers to be still and quiet. About the eleventh hour in the night the watch called, and said they were just upon us. That disquieted some of the passengers; whereupon I sat up in my cabin, and, looking through the port-hole, the moon not being quite down, I saw them very near us. I was getting up to go out of the cabin, but, remembering the word of the Lord, That his life and power was placed between us and them, I lay down again. The master and some of the seamen came again, and asked me, If they might not steer such a point? I told them, They might do as they would. By this time the moon was gone quite down and a fresh gale arose, and the Lord hid us from them, and we sailed briskly on and saw them no more. The next day, being the first day of the week, we had a public meeting in the ship (as we usually had on that day throughout the voyage), and the Lord's presence was greatly among us; and I desired the people, To mind the mercies of the Lord, who had delivered them, for they might have been all in the Turks' hands by that time had not the Lord's hand saved them. About a week after, the master and some of the seamen endeavoured to persuade the passengers that it was not a Turkish pirate that chased

us, but a merchantman going to the Canaries. But when I heard of it I asked them, Why, then, did they speak so to me? and why did they trouble the passengers? and why did they tack about from him and alter their course? And I told them, They should take heed of slighting the mercies of God. Afterwards, while we were at Barbadoes, there came in a merchant from Sally, and told the people, That one of the Sally men-of-war saw a monstrous yacht at sea, the greatest that ever he saw, and had her in chase and was just upon her, but that there was a spirit in her that he could not take. This did confirm us in the belief that it was a Sally man we saw make after us, and that it was the Lord that delivered us out of his hands.

I was not seasick during the voyage, as many of the Friends and other passengers were; but the many hurts and bruises I had formerly received, and the griefs and infirmities I had contracted in England by extreme cold and hardships that I had undergone in many long and sore imprisonments, returned upon me now that I came to sea, so that I was very ill in my stomach, and full of violent pains in my bones and limbs.

On the third of the eighth month, early in the morning, we discovered the island of Barbadoes, but it was between nine and ten at night ere we came to anchor in Carlisle Bay. We got on shore as soon as we could, and I, with some others, walked to a Friend's house, a merchant, whose name was Richard Forstall, above a quarter of a mile from the Bridge; but, being very ill and weak, I was so tired with that little walk that I was in a manner quite spent by the time I got thither.

Soon after I came into the island I was informed of a

remarkable passage wherein the justice of God did eminently appear. It was thus: There was a young man of Barbadoes, whose name was John Drakes (a person of some note in the world's account, but a common swearer, and a bad man), who, having been in England, and at London, had a mind to marry a young maid, that was a Friend's daughter, left by her mother very young, and with a considerable portion, to the care and government of several Friends, whereof I was one. He made his application to me that he might have my consent to marry this young maid. I told him, I was one of her overseers appointed by her mother (who was a widow) to take care of her; that if her mother had intended her for a match to any man of the world, she would have disposed her accordingly, but she committed her to us that she might be trained up in the fear of the Lord; and therefore I should betray the trust reposed in me if I should consent that he, who was out of the fear of God, should marry her, which I would not do. When he saw that he could not obtain, he returned to Barbadoes with great offence of mind against me, but without just cause. Afterwards, when he heard I was coming to Barbadoes, he swore desperately, and threatened that, if he could possibly procure it, he would have me burned to death when I came there. Which, a Friend hearing, asked him, What I had done to him that he was so violent against me? He would not answer, but said again, I 'll have him burned. Whereupon the Friend replied, Do not march on too furiously, lest thou come too soon to thy journey's end. About ten days after this he was struck with a violent burning fever, of which he died, and by which his body was so scorched that

the people took notice of it, and said it was as black as a coal. And, three days before I landed, his body was laid in the dust, and it was taken notice of as a sad example.

Now, because I was not yet well able to travel, the Friends of the island concluded to have their men's meeting and their women's meeting for the service of the church at Thomas Rous's, where I lay, by which means I was present amongst them at each of their meetings, and had very good service for the Lord in both; for they had need of information in many things, and divers disorders were crept in for want of care and watchfulness. And I admonished them all to purge the floor thoroughly, and to sweep their houses very clean, that nothing might remain that would defile; and that all should take care that nothing be spoken out of their meetings to the blemishing or defaming one of another. Then as to their blacks, or negroes, I desired them to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, as well them that were bought with their money as them that were born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord, that so with Joshua they might, every master of a family say, As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord. I desired them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude they would make them free. Many sweet and precious things were opened in these meetings by the Spirit and in the power of the Lord, to the edifying, confirming, and building up of Friends, both in the faith and holy order of the gospel.

We had many great and precious meetings, both for

worship and for the affairs of the church, to the former of which many of the world came. At one of these meetings there came (amongst others) one Colonel Lyne, a sober person, who was so very well satisfied with what I declared that he afterwards said, Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you, who say you do not own Christ nor that he died, whereas I perceive you exalt Christ in all his offices beyond what I have ever heard before. And, indeed, a very great convincement there was in most parts of the island, which made the priests and some professors fret and rage. Our meetings were very large and full, and free from disturbance from the government, though the envious priests and some professors endeavoured to stir up the magistrates against us. And, when they found they could not prevail that way, some of them that were Baptists came to the meeting at the town, which was very large and full of people of several ranks and qualities. A great company came also with them, and they brought with them a malicious, slanderous paper, written by John Pennyman, with which they made a great noise. But the Lord gave me wisdom and utterance to answer their cavils, so that the auditory generally received satisfaction, and those quarrelsome professors lost ground by their coming. But the rage and envy in our adversaries did not cease, but they endeavoured to defame Friends with many false and scandalous reports which they spread abroad through the island. Whereupon I, with some other Friends, drew up a paper, to go forth in the name of the people called Quakers, for the clearing truth and Friends from those false reports. It was directed thus:

For the Governour of Barbadoes, with his Council and Assembly, and all others in power, both civil and military, in this Island, from the People called Quakers.

Whereas, many scandalous lies and slanders have been cast upon us to render us odious, as that we do deny God and Christ Jesus and the Scriptures of truth, etc. This is to inform you that all our books and declarations which for these many years have been published to the world do clearly testify the contrary; yet, notwithstanding, for your satisfaction, we do now plainly and sincerely declare, That we do own and believe in God, the only wise, omnipotent, and everlasting God, who is the Creator of all things both in heaven and in the earth, and the Preserver of all that He hath made; who is God over all, blessed forever, to whom be all honour and glory, dominion, praise, and thanksgiving, both now and for evermore! And we do own and believe in Jesus Christ, his beloved and only begotten Son, in whom He is well pleased; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, by whom were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers,—all things were created by Him. And we do own and believe that He was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; and that He was crucified for us in the flesh without the gates of Jerusalem; and that He was buried and rose again the third day, by the power of his Father, for our justification; and we do believe that He ascended up

into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we do believe that there is no other foundation to be laid but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus, who, we believe, tasted death for every man, and shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world, according as John the Baptist testified of Him when he said, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world! (John i. 29.) We believe that He alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, even the Captain of our salvation (who saves us from sin as well as from hell and the wrath to come, and destroys the devil and his works); who is the Seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head, to wit, Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last; that He is (as the Scriptures of truth say of Him) our wisdom and righteousness, justification and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we may be saved. It is He alone who is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls; He it is who is our Prophet, whom Moses long since testified of, saying, A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; Him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever He shall say unto you; and it shall come to pass that every soul that will not hear that Prophet shall be destroyed from among the people. (Acts ii. 22, 23.) He it is that is now come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know Him that is true; and He rules in our hearts by his law of love and of life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death, and we have no life but by

Him, for He is the quickening Spirit, the Second Adam, the Lord from heaven, by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works, to serve the living God. And He is our Mediator, that makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending; He being the Oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace, and peace, the author and finisher of cur faith. Now this Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly man, the Emanuel, God with us, we all own and believe in; Him whom the high-priest raged against, and said He had spoken blasphemy; whom the priests and elders of the Jews took counsel together against and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, which the priests gave him as a reward for his treason, who also gave large money to the soldiers to broach a horrible lie, namely, That his disciples came and stole Him away by night whilst they slept. And, after He was risen from the dead, the history of the Acts of the Apostles sets forth how the chief priests and elders persecuted the disciples of this Jesus for preaching Christ and his resurrection;—this, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ whom we own to be our life and salvation.

And, as concerning the Holy Scriptures, we do believe, That they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who, as the Scripture itself declares (2 Pet. i. 21), spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. We believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled (He that fulfils them is Christ); and they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works (2 Tim. iii. 16), and are able to make wise unto salvation through

faith in Christ Jesus. And we do believe that the Holy Scriptures are the words of God, for it is said in Exodus xx. 1, God spake all these words, saying, etc., meaning the Ten Commandments given forth upon Mount Sinai; and in Rev. xxii. 18, saith John, I testify to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book; if any man addeth unto these, and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy (not the word), etc. So in Luke i. 20, Because thou believest not my words. And so in John v. 47, and John xv. 7, John xiv. 23, John xii. 47. So that we call the Holy Scriptures, as Christ and the apostles called them, and holy men of God called them, *viz.*, the words of God.

Another slander and lie they have cast upon us, namely, That we should teach the negroes to rebel—a thing we utterly abhor and detest in our hearts, the Lord knows it, who is the searcher of all hearts, and knows all things, and so can witness and testify for us that this is a most abominable untruth; for that which we have spoken and declared to them is, To exhort and admonish them to be sober, and to fear God, and to love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithful and diligent in their masters' service and business. . . . Now consider, friends, it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself, or for some others to do it in his behalf, but rather it is a very great duty incumbent upon them. Abraham and Joshua did so. Of the first we read, The Lord said (Gen. xviii. 19) I know that Abraham will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that He hath

spoken of him. And the latter, we read, said (Josh. xxiv. 15), Choose ye this day whom ye will serve; but, as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord. We do declare that we do esteem it a duty incumbent on us to pray with and for, to teach, instruct, and admonish those in and belonging to our families, this being a command of the Lord, the disobedience whereunto will provoke the Lord's displeasure, as may be seen in Jer. x. 25. Pour out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name. Now negroes, tawnies, Indians make up a very great part of the families in this island; for whom an account will be required by Him who comes to judge both quick and dead. . . . This wicked slander (of our endeavouring to make the negroes rebel) our adversaries took occasion to raise from our having had some meetings with and amongst the negroes; for both I and other Friends had several meetings with them in several plantations, wherein we exhorted them to justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, and piety, and to be subject to their masters and governours,—which was altogether contrary to what our envious adversaries maliciously suggested against us.

Having now been three months or more in Barbados, and in that time having visited Friends, throughly settled meetings, and despatched that service for which the Lord brought me thither, I felt my spirit clear of that island, and drawings to Jamaica. I set sail from Barbados to Jamaica on the eighth day of the Eleventh month, 1671, Robert Widders, William Edmundson, Solomon Eccles, and Elizabeth Hooton going with me. We had a quick

and easy passage to Jamaica, where we met with our friends James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison again, who had been labouring there in the service of truth, into which we forthwith entered with them, travelling up and down through the island, which is large: and a brave country it is, though the people are, many of them, debauched and wicked. We had much service there, for there was a great convincement, and many received the truth, some of which were people of account in the world. We had many meetings there, which were large and very quiet. When we had been about seven weeks in Jamaica, and had brought Friends into pretty good order, and settled several meetings amongst them, we left Solomon Eccles there; the rest of us embarked for Maryland.

We went on board on the 8th of the First month, 1671–2; and, having contrary winds, were a full week sailing forwards and backwards before we could get out of sight of Jamaica. A difficult voyage this proved, and pretty dangerous, especially in our passing through the Gulf of Florida, where we met with many trials by winds and storms. But the great God, who is Lord of the seas and of the land, and who rideth upon the wings of the wind, did by his power preserve us through many and great dangers, when by extreme stress of weather our vessel was divers times like to be overset and much of her tackling broken. And indeed we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that his ear was open to the supplications of his people. For when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but were fain to let the ship go which way she would, then did we pray unto the Lord; and the Lord did

graciously hear and accept us, and did calm the winds and the seas and gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in his salvation. Blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, and whom the winds and the seas obey!

We were at sea betwixt six and seven weeks in this passage from Jamaica to Maryland. Here we found John Burneyate intending shortly to sail for Old England; but, upon our arrival, he altered his purpose, and joined with us in the Lord's service which we were upon. He had appointed a general meeting for all the Friends in the province of Maryland, that he might see them together and take his leave of them before he departed out of the country; and it was so ordered by the good providence of God that we landed just time enough to reach that meeting, by which means we had a very seasonable opportunity of taking the Friends of the province together. A very large meeting this was, and held four days, to which (besides Friends) came many of the world's people, divers of which were of considerable quality in the world's account. After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began, wherein I opened to Friends the service thereof to their great satisfaction. After this we went to another place, called The Cliffs, where another general meeting was appointed.

After these two general meetings were over, we parted company, dividing ourselves into several coasts for the service of truth. James Lancaster and John Cartwright went by sea for New England; William Edmundson, and three Friends more with him, sailed for Virginia, where things were much out of order; John Burneyate, Robert Widders,

George Pattison, and I, with several Friends of the province, went over by boat to the Eastern Shore, and had a meeting there on the First day, where many people received the truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed: a very large and heavenly meeting it was.

The next day we began our journey by land to New England—a tedious journey through the woods and wilderness, over bogs and great rivers; [and, after two days' travel, reached] a Dutch town, called New Castle. We departed from thence, and got over the river Delaware, not without great danger of some of our lives; and when we were over we were troubled to get new guides, which were hard to get, and very chargeable. Then had we that wilderness country to pass through which is since called West Jersey, which was not then inhabited by English, so that we have travelled a whole day together without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place, and sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and sometimes in the Indians' wigwams or houses. In this journey we came one night to an Indian town, and lay at their king's house, who was a very pretty man; and both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (such as they were) were very respectful to us: they laid us mats to lie on, but provision was very short with them, having caught but little that day. At another Indian town where we stayed their king came to us, and he could speak some English; wherefore I spake to him much, and also to his people, and they were very loving to us. At length we came to a town called Middle Town, which is an English plantation in East Jersey, and there were some Friends, but we could not stay to have a meeting there at that time, being earnestly pressed in our

spirits to get to the half-year's meeting of Friends at Oyster Bay, in Long Island, which was very near at hand. Wherefore we went down with a Friend (whose name was Richard Hartshorn, brother to Hugh Hartshorn, the upholsterer in London), who received us gladly to his house, where we refreshed ourselves (for we were weary), and then he carried us and our horses in his own boat over a great water (which held us most part of the day in getting over), and set us upon Long Island. So we got that evening to Friends at Gravesand, with whom we tarried that night, and the next day we got to Flushing, and the day following we reached to Oyster Bay, several Friends, both of Gravesand and Flushing accompanying us. The half-year's meeting began next day, which was the first day of the week, and lasted four days. The first and second days we had public meetings for worship, to which the people of the world of all sorts might, and did, come; on the third day of the week were the men's and women's meetings, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of. Here we met with some of the bad spirits, who were run out from truth into prejudice, contention, and opposition to the order of truth and to Friends therein. These had been very troublesome to Friends in their meetings there and thereabouts formerly, and, it is like, would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils. Wherefore I let them know, That if they had anything to object against the order of truth which we were in, we would give them a meeting another day on purpose. And, indeed, I laboured the more, and travelled the harder, to get to this meeting, where it was expected many of these

contentious people would be, because I understood they had reflected much upon me when I was far from them. So, the men's and women's meetings being over, on the fourth day we had a meeting with those discontented people, to which as many of them as would did come, and as many Friends as had a desire were present also; and the Lord's power brake forth gloriously, to the confounding of the gainsayers. And then some of those that had been chief in the mischievous work of contention and opposition against the truth began to fawn upon me, and to cast the matter upon others; but the deceitful spirit was judged down and condemned, and the glorious truth of God was exalted and set over all, and they were all brought down and bowed under, which was of great service to truth, and great satisfaction and comfort to Friends. Glory to the Lord for ever!

When we were clear of the island we returned to Oyster Bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Island, which was computed to be about two hundred miles. As soon as the wind served, we set sail, and arrived in Rhode Island on the thirtieth day of the Third month, where we were gladly received by Friends. The week following, the yearly meeting for all the Friends of New England and the other colonies adjacent, was held in this island. This meeting lasted six days, of which the first four days were general public meetings for worship, to which abundance of the world's people came. After these public meetings were over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious, and weighty; and the day following was the women's meeting, which also was large and very solemn; and these two meetings being for the ordering of the affairs of the church,

many weighty things were opened and communicated to them by way of advice, information, and instruction in the services relating thereunto, that all might be kept clean, sweet, and savoury amongst them. Now, when this great and general meeting in Rhode Island was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and his blessed truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another and of the Friends of the island; and then, being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations in the several colonies where they lived.

When this general meeting was fully over, and Friends had taken their leaves one of another to depart home, we, who travelled amongst them, dispersed ourselves into our several services, according as the Lord ordered us. John Burneyate, with John Cartwright and George Pattison, went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the Friends that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow a while after in the same service of truth, but they were not yet clear of this island. Robert Widders and I stayed some time longer also upon this island, finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness of the people, and the daily coming in of fresh people in sloops from other colonies, for some time after the general meeting was over: so that we had many large and serviceable meetings among them for several days after.

Then we had a meeting at a place called Providence,

which was very large, as consisting of many sorts and sects of people. After this we went to another place, called Narragansett, about twenty miles from Rhode Island, and the governour went with us. There we had a meeting at a justice's house, where Friends had never had any meeting before: and the meeting was very large. Most of these people were such as had never heard Friends before; but they were mightily affected with the meeting, and a great desire there is after the truth amongst that people. At another place I heard some of the magistrates should say among themselves, If they had money enough, they would hire me to be their minister. This was where they did not well understand us and our principles. But, when I heard of it, I said, It was time for me to be gone, for if their eye was so much to me or any of us they would not come to their own teacher; for this thing (of hiring ministers) had spoiled many by hindering them from improving their own talents, whereas our labour is to bring every one to their own teacher in themselves.

[He spent about two years in travelling from New England to Carolina and back to Maryland, through the wilderness of woods and swamps, and in open boats through the bays and sounds; often sleeping at night in the woods or in the boats, and suffering much from exposure to wet and cold. He held meetings at various places with Friends, and large numbers of the other inhabitants. He also had meetings with the Indians, who, he says, "carried themselves very lovingly;" and of some, he says, "to whom I spake, and I found they understood the thing I spake of." Being in Carolina, he says, "The governour, with his wife, received us lovingly, but there was at his house a doctor

who would needs dispute with us. And, truly, his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people concerning the light and spirit of God, which he denied to be in every one, and affirmed that it was not in the Indians. Whereupon, I called an Indian to us, and asked him, 'Whether or no, when he did lie, or do wrong to any one, whether there was not something in him that did reprove him for it?' And he said, 'There was such a thing in him that did so reprove him, and he was ashamed when he had done wrong or spoken wrong.'"]

Now, having travelled through most parts of that country, and visited most of the plantations thereabouts, and had very good service for the Lord in America; having alarmed the people of all sorts where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's salvation amongst them, we found our spirits began to be clear of those parts of the world, and to draw towards Old England again; yet we were desirous, and felt freedom from the Lord, to stay till the general meeting for that province of Maryland was over (which drew nigh), that we might see Friends generally together before we departed. It was a wonderful, glorious meeting; and the mighty presence of the Lord was seen and felt over all. Blessed and praised be his holy name for ever, who over all giveth dominion!

After this meeting we took our leave of Friends, parting in great tenderness in the sense of the heavenly life and virtuous power of the Lord, that was livingly felt amongst us, and went by water to the place where we were to take shipping, many Friends accompanying us thither, and tarrying with us that night; and the day following we set sail

for England; and, on the twenty-eighth of the Fourth month, cast anchor at King's Road, which is the harbour for Bristol.

We went on shore that afternoon, and got to Shearhampton, where we got horses and rode to Bristol that night, where Friends received us with great joy. In the evening I writ a letter to my wife, to give her notice of my landing, as followeth:

Dear Heart.—This day we came into Bristol near night from the seas, glory to the Lord God over all for ever, who was our convoy, and steered our course; who is the God of the whole earth, and of the seas and winds, and made the clouds his chariots beyond all words: blessed be his name for ever! who is over all in his great power and wisdom. Amen. Robert Widders and James Lancaster are with me, and we are well, glory to the Lord for ever, who hath carried us through many perils—perils by water and in storms; perils by pirates and robbers; perils in the wilderness and amongst false professors. Praises to Him, whose glory is over all for ever! Amen. Therefore mind the fresh life, and live all to God in it. I do intend (if the Lord will) to stay a while this-away, it may be till the fair. So, no more, but my love to all Friends. G. F.

Bristol, the 28th day of the 4th month, 1673.

Between this and the fair my wife came out of the north to Bristol to me, and her son-in-law, Thomas Lower, with two of her daughters, came with her; and her other son-in-law, John Rouse, and W. Penn and his wife, and Gerrard Roberts, came down from London, and many Friends

from several parts of the nation came to the fair, and glorious, powerful meetings we had there at that time; for the Lord's infinite power and life was over all. In the fresh openings whereof I was moved to declare of three estates and three teachers, viz., . . . God was the first teacher in Paradise, and whilst man kept under his teaching he was happy; the Serpent was the second teacher, and when man followed his teaching he came into misery and into the fall; . . . Christ Jesus was the third teacher, of whom God saith, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Hear ye Him; and who Himself saith, Learn of me. . . . So, as man and woman come up again to God, and are renewed up into his image, righteousness and holiness by Christ, thereby they come up into the paradise of God, the state which man was in before he fell, and into a higher state than that, to sit down in Christ, that never fell. Therefore, the Son of God is to be heard in all things, who is the Saviour and the Redeemer, and hath laid down his life, and bought his sheep with his precious blood. . . . And whereas some have objected, That although Christ did speak both to his disciples and to the Jews in the days of his flesh, yet, since his resurrection and ascension, He doth not speak now. The answer is: That as God did then speak by his Son in the days of his flesh, so the Son, Christ Jesus, doth now speak by his Spirit.

Many deep and precious things were opened in those meetings by the Eternal Spirit, which searcheth and revealeth the deep things of God. And, after I had finished my service for the Lord in that city, I departed thence into Gloucestershire, where we had many large and precious meetings, and the Lord's everlasting power flowed over

all. From Gloucestershire I passed into Wiltshire, where also we had many blessed meetings. At Slattenford, in Wiltshire, we had a very good meeting, though we met there with much opposition from some who had set themselves against women's meetings, which I was moved of the Lord to recommend to Friends for the benefit and advantage of the church of Christ, That the faithful women, who were called to the belief of the truth, being made partakers of the same precious faith and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation as the men are, might, in like manner, come into the possession and practice of the gospel order, and therein be meet helps unto the men in the restoration, in the service of truth, in the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in outward and civil or temporal things. That so all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, possess, perform, and discharge their offices and services in the house of God, whereby the poor might be the better looked after and taken care of; the younger sort instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reproved and admonished in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons propounding marriage more closely and strictly inquired into in the wisdom of God; and all the members of the spiritual body, the church, might watch over and be helpful to each other in love. But, after these opposers had run into much contention and wrangling, the power of the Lord struck down one of the chief of them, so that his spirit sunk, and he came to be sensible of the evil he had done in opposing God's heavenly power, and confessed his error before Friends; and afterwards gave forth a paper of condemnation, wherein he declared, That he did wilfully oppose

(although I often warned him to take heed) until the fire of the Lord did burn within him, and he saw the angel of the Lord, with his sword drawn in his hand, ready to cut him off, etc.

I returned by Kingston to London, whither I felt my spirit drawn, having heard that many Friends were had before the magistrates, and divers imprisoned, both at London and in other cities and towns in the nation, for opening their shop-windows upon holy days and fast days (as they were called), and for bearing testimony against all such observations of days; which Friends could not but do, knowing that the true Christians did not observe the Jews' holy days in the apostles' times; neither could we observe the heathens' and Papists' holy days (so called), which have been set up amongst those that are called Christians since the apostles' days. For we were redeemed out of days by Christ Jesus, and brought into the day which hath sprung from on high, and are come into Him who is Lord of the Jewish sabbath and the substance of the Jews' signs.

Now, after I had stayed some time in London labouring for some relief and ease to Friends in this case, I took leave of Friends there and went into the country, with my wife and her daughter Rachel, to Hendon, in Middlesex, and from thence to William Penn's, at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, whither Thomas Lower (who married another of my wife's daughters) came to us the next day, to accompany us in our journey northward. After we had visited Friends thereabouts, we passed to a Friend's house near Aylesbury, and from thence to Bray Doily's, at Adderbury, in Oxfordshire.

Now at night, as I was sitting at supper, I felt I was taken, yet I said nothing to anybody of it then. But getting out next morning, we travelled through the country into Worcestershire, and went to John Halford's house, at Armscot, in Tredington parish, where we had a very large and precious meeting in his barn, the Lord's powerful presence being eminently with us and amongst us. After the meeting was done, and Friends (most of them) gone away, as I was sitting in the parlour, discoursing with some Friends that stayed, there came to the house one Henry Parker, called a justice, and with him one Rowland Hains, a priest of Hunniton, in Warwickshire. They came not till the meeting was over and Friends mostly gone. But, though there was no meeting when they came, yet I, being there in the house, who was the person they aimed at, the said Henry Parker took me, and Thomas Lower for company with me; and, though he had nothing to lay to our charge, sent us both to Worcester jail.

Being thus made prisoners, without any probable appearance of being released before the quarter sessions at soonest, we got some Friends to accompany my wife and her daughter into the north, and we were conveyed to Worcester jail, from whence, by that time I thought my wife could be got home, I writ her the following letter:

Dear Heart.—Thou seemest to be a little grieved, when I was speaking of prisons and when I was taken. Be content with the will of the Lord God. For when I was at John Rous's, at Kingston, I had a sight of my being taken prisoner; and when I was at Bray Doily's, in Oxfordshire, as I sate at supper, I saw I was taken, and I saw I had a

suffering to undergo. But the Lord's power is over all, blessed be his holy name for ever! G. F.

When we had been some time in the jail, we thought fit to lay our case before him who was called the Lord Windsor, who was the lord-lieutenant of Worcestershire, and before the deputy-lieutenants and other magistrates.

But no enlargement did we receive by our application to the Lord Windsor (so called). And, although Thomas Lower received several letters from his brother, Dr. Lower (who was one of the king's physicians), concerning his liberty, and one, by his procurement, from Henry Savil (who was one of the king's bed-chamber) to his brother, called the Lord Windsor, to the same effect; yet, seeing it related only to his enlargement (not mine), so great was his love and regard to me, that he would not seek his own liberty singly, but kept the letter by him unsent. So we were continued prisoners till the next general quarter sessions of the peace.

We were not called till the last day of the sessions, which was the twenty-first of the Eleventh month, 1673. And when we came in they were stricken with paleness in their faces, and it was some time before anything was spoken; insomuch that a butcher in the hall said, What! are they afraid? Dare not the justices speak to them? At length, before they spake to us, Justice Parker made a long speech on the bench, much to the same effect as was contained in the mittimus, often mentioning the common laws, but not instancing any, that we had broken; adding, That he thought it a milder course to send us two to jail than to put his neighbours to the loss of two hundred pound,

which they must have suffered if he had put the law in execution against conventicles. But in this he was either very ignorant or very deceitful; for, there being no meeting when he came, nor any to inform, he had no evidence to convict us or his neighbours by.

When Parker had ended his speech, the justices spake to us, and began with Thomas Lower, whom they examined of the cause of his coming into that country, of which we gave them a full and plain account. Sometimes I put in a word while they were examining him, and then they told me, They were upon his examination, but that when it came to my turn I should have free liberty to speak, for they would not hinder me, but I should have full time, and they would not ensnare us. When they had done with him, they asked me an account of my travel, which I gave them, according as is mentioned before, but more largely. And whereas Justice Parker, to aggravate the case, had made a great noise of there being some from London, some from the north, some from Cornwall, and some from Bristol, at the house when I was taken; I told them, That this was in a manner all but one family, for there was none from London but myself; none from the north but my wife and her daughter; none from Cornwall but my son-in-law, Thomas Lower; nor any from Bristol but one Friend, a merchant there, who met us, as it were, providentially, to assist my wife and her daughter in their journey homewards when, by our imprisonment, they were deprived of our company and help. When I had spoken, the chairman (whose name was Simpson, an old Presbyterian) said, Your relation, or account, is very innocent. Then he and Parker whispered a while together; and, after

that the chairman stood up, and said, You, Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said; but, that we may be the better satisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy? I told them, They had said they would not ensnare us; but this was a plain snare, for they knew we could not take any oath. However, they caused the oath to be read. And when they had done, I told them, I never took oath in my life, but I had always been true to the government; that I was cast into the prison at Darby, and kept a prisoner six months there, because I would not take up arms against King Charles at Worcester fight; and, for going to meetings, was carried up out of Leicestershire, and brought before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in King Charles. And ye know, said I, in your own consciences, that we, the people called Quakers, cannot take an oath, or swear in any case, because Christ hath forbidden it. But, as to the matter or substance contained in the oaths, this I can and do say, that I do own and acknowledge the king of England to be lawful heir and successor to the realm of England, and do abhor all plots and plotters and contrivances against him; and I have nothing in my heart but love and good-will to him and all men, and desire his and their prosperity, the Lord knows it, before whom I stand an innocent man. And, as to the oath of supremacy, I deny the Pope and his power and his religion, and abhor it with my heart. While I was speaking to them they cried, Give him the book. And I said, The book saith, Swear not at all. Then they cried, Take him away, jailer; and, I still speaking on, they were urgent upon the jailer, crying, Take him away, we shall have a meet-

ing here. Why do you not take him away? That fellow (meaning the jailer) loves to hear him preach. Then the jailer drew me away; and, as I was turning from them, I stretched out my arm, and said, The Lord forgive you who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ. Thus they apparently brake their promise in the face of the country, for they promised I should have free liberty to speak, but now they would not give it me; and they promised they would not ensnare us, yet now they tendered me the oaths on purpose to ensnare me.

After I was had away, Thomas Lower was stayed behind in the court, and they told him he was at liberty. Then he would have reasoned with them, asking them, Why I might not be set at liberty as well as he, seeing we were both taken together, and our case was alike? But they told him they would not hear him, saying, You may be gone about your business, for we have nothing more to say to you, seeing you are discharged: and this was all he could get from them. Wherefore, after the court was risen, he went to speak with them at their chamber, desiring to know, What cause they had to detain his father, seeing they had discharged him, and wishing them to consider whether this was not partiality, and would be a blemish to them. Whereupon Simpson threatened him, saying, If you be not content, we will tender you the oaths also, and send you to your father. To which he replied, They might do that if they thought fit; but, whether they sent him or no, he intended to go and wait upon his father in prison, for that was now his business in that country. Then said Justice Parker to him, Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had not cause to send your father and you

to prison when you had such a great meeting, insomuch that the parson of the parish complained to me that he hath lost the greatest part of his parishioners, so that when he comes amongst them he hath scarce any auditors left? I have heard (replied Thomas Lower) that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock (but once, it may be, or twice, in a year, to gather up his tithes) that it was but charity in my father to visit such a forlorn and forsaken flock; and therefore thou hadst no cause to send my father to prison for visiting them, or for teaching, instructing, and directing them to Christ, their true teacher, who had so little comfort or benefit from their pretended pastor, who comes amongst them only to seek for his gain from his quarter. Upon this the justices fell a laughing; for it seems Dr. Crowder (who was the priest they spake of) was then in the room sitting among them, though Thomas Lower did not know him; and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not undertake to vindicate himself in a matter so notoriously known to be true. But when Thomas Lower was come from them, the justices did so play upon Dr. Crowder that he was pitifully ashamed, and so nettled with it that he threatened to sue Thomas Lower in the bishop's court upon an action of defamation. Which, when Thomas Lower heard of, he sent him word that he would answer his suit, let him begin it when he would, and would bring his whole parish in evidence against him: and this cooled the doctor.

Soon after the sessions were over, the term coming on, an habeas-corpus was sent down to Worcester for the sheriff to bring me up to the King's Bench bar. Whereupon the under-sheriff, having made Thomas Lower his deputy to

convey me to London, we set forth out of Worcester on the twenty-ninth of the Eleventh month, 1673, and came to London the second day of the Twelfth month, the ways being very deep and the waters out. Next day notice being given that I was brought up, the sheriff was ordered to bring me into court. They had four counsels that pleaded against me, and prevailed with the judges to give judgment that I should be sent down to Worcester sessions; only they told me I might put in bail to appear at the sessions and to be of good behaviour in the meantime. But I told them, I was never in ill behaviour in my life, and that they (the four judges) might as well put the oath to me there as send me to Worcester to be ensnared by the justices in their putting the oath to me and then premuniring me, who never took oath in my life.

I came into Worcester on the last day of the First month, 1674, being the day before the judges came to town. The judge had a mind to have set me at liberty, for he saw they had nothing justly against me; but, willing to ease himself, referred me and my case to the sessions again.

Between this time and the sessions (having the liberty of the town for my health's sake) I had some service for the Lord with several people that came to visit me. For at one time there came three Nonconformist priests and two lawyers to discourse with me; and one of the priests undertook to prove that the Scriptures are the only rule of life. Whereupon, after I had plunged him about his proof, I had a fit opportunity to open unto them, The right and proper use, service, and excellency of the Scriptures, and also to shew that the Spirit of God, which was given to every one to profit withal, and the grace of God, which

bringeth salvation, and which hath appeared to all men, and teacheth them that obey it to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world,—that this, I say, is the most fit, proper, and universal rule, which God hath given to all mankind to rule, direct, govern, and order their lives by.

Another time there came a common-prayer priest and some people with him; and he asked me, If I was grown up to perfection? I told him, What I was, I was by the grace of God. He replied, It was a modest and civil answer. Then he urged the words of John, If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. And he asked, What did I say to that? I said, with the same apostle, If we say that we have not sinned we make Him a liar, and his word is not in us, who came to destroy sin and to take away sin. So there is a time for people to see that they have sinned, and there is a time for them to see that they have sin, and there is a time for them to confess their sin and to forsake it, and to know the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin. Then the priest was asked, Whether Adam was not perfect before he fell? and whether all God's works were not perfect? The priest said, There might be a perfection as Adam had, and a falling from it. But I told him, There is a perfection in Christ above Adam and beyond falling; and that it was the work of the ministers of Christ to present every man perfect in Christ; and for the perfecting of them they had their gifts from Christ; and, therefore, they that denied perfection denied the work of the ministry and the gifts which Christ gave for the perfecting of the saints. The priest said, We must always be striving. But I told him, It was a sad

and comfortless sort of striving, to strive with a belief that we should never overcome. I told him also that Paul, who cried out of the body of death, did also thank God, who gave him the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. So there was a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praising God for the victory. And Paul said, There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. The priest said, Job was not perfect. I told him God said Job was a perfect man, and that he did shun evil; and the devil was forced to confess that God had set a hedge about him, which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible, heavenly power. The priest said, Job said, He chargeth his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight. I told him, That was his mistake, for it was not Job said so, but Eliphaz, who contended against Job. Well, but, said the priest, What say you to that Scripture, The justest man that is sinneth seven times a day. Why, truly, said I, I say there is no such Scripture: and with that the priest's mouth was stopped. Many other services I had with several sorts of people between the assizes and the sessions.

The next quarter sessions began on the twenty-ninth day of the Second month, and there I was called before the justices. Some of the justices were loving, and would have stopped the rest from indicting me or putting the oath to me. But Judge Street, who was the chairman, said, He must go according to law. So I was sent back to prison again; yet, within two hours after, through the moderation of some of the justices, I had liberty given me to go at large till next quarter sessions.

Meanwhile the Yearly Meeting of Friends came on, at

which (through the liberty granted me till the sessions) I was present, and exceeding glorious the meetings were, beyond expression, blessed be the Lord!

After the yearly meeting was over, and Friends out of the countries were pretty generally returned home, I set forward again for Worcester, the sessions drawing on, which were held in the Fifth month. And when I was called to the bar, and the indictment read, some scruple arising among the jury concerning it, the judge of the court (who was Justice Street) caused the oaths to be read and tendered to me again. I told him, I came now to try the traverse of my indictment, and that his tendering me the oaths anew was a new snare. The judge did not deny but there were errors in the indictment. I desired him to answer me in the presence of the Lord, in whose presence we all are, Whether this oath was not tendered me in envy? He would not answer that, but said, Would you had never came here to trouble us and the country! I told him, I came not thither of myself, but was brought, being stopped in my travel on my journey; and I did not trouble them, but they had brought trouble upon themselves. Then the judge told me, What a sad sentence he had to tell me. I asked him, Whether what he was going to speak was by way of passing sentence or by way of information? For, I told him, I had many things to say, and more errors to assign in the indictment (besides those I had already mentioned) to stop him from giving sentence against me upon that indictment. He said, He was going to shew me the danger of a premunire, which was the loss of my liberty and of all my goods and chattels, and to endure imprisonment during life. But, he said, he did not deliver this as

the sentence of the court upon me, but as an admonition to me: and then he bid the jailer take me away. I expected to have been called again to hear the sentence, but when I was gone the clerk of the peace (whose name was Twittey) asked him (as I was informed), Whether that which he had spoken to me should stand for sentence? And he, consulting with some of the justices, told him, Yes, that was the sentence, and should stand. This was done behind my back, to save himself from shame in the face of the country.

The sessions being now over, and I fixed in prison by a premunire, my wife came up to me out of the north to be with me. While thus I lay in prison, it came upon me to state our principle to the king, not with particular relation to my own sufferings, but for his better information concerning our principle and us as a people. It was thus, and thus directed:

TO THE KING.

The principle of the Quakers is the Spirit of Christ, who died for us, and is risen for our justification; by which we know we are his; and He dwelleth in us by his Spirit; and by the Spirit of Christ we are led out of unrighteousness and ungodliness. It brings us to deny all plottings and contrivings against the king or any man; and the Spirit of Christ brings us to deny all manner of ungodliness; . . . and the Spirit of Christ brings us to seek the peace and good of all men, and to live peaceably, and leads us from such evil works and actions as the magistrate's sword takes hold upon. And our desire and labour is that all who profess themselves Christians may walk in the Spirit of Christ. . . . Then the judges and other magistrates would not have so much work in punishing sin in the king-

dom; neither then need kings or princes fear any of their subjects, if they all walked in the Spirit of Christ. . . . Now, the manifestation of the good Spirit is given to every man to profit withal, and no man can profit in the things of God but by the Spirit of God, which brings to deny all sin and evil. . . .

Now, we are a people who in tenderness of conscience to the command of Christ and of his apostles cannot swear. Now, if we could take any oath at all, we could take the oath of allegiance, as, knowing that King Charles was by the power of God brought into England and set up king of England, etc., over the heads of our old persecutors. And, as for the Pope's supremacy, we do utterly deny it. But Christ and the apostle having commanded us not to swear, but to keep to yea and nay, we dare not break their commands; and therefore many have put the oaths to us as a snare, that they might make a prey of us. So our denying to swear is not in wilfulness, stubbornness, or contempt, but only in obedience to the command of Christ and his apostle. . . . This is from one who desires the eternal good and prosperity of the king and of all his subjects in the Lord Jesus Christ. G. F.

About this time I had a fit of sickness, which brought me very low and weak in my body, and I continued so a pretty while, insomuch that some Friends began to doubt of my recovery, and I seemed to myself to be amongst the graves and dead corpses. Yet the invisible power did secretly support me, and conveyed refreshing strength into me, even when I was so weak that I was almost speechless. And one night, as I was lying awake upon my bed in the

glory of the Lord (which was over all), it was said unto me, That the Lord had a great deal more work for me to do for Him before He took me to Himself.

After this my wife went to London, and spake with the king, laying before him my long and unjust imprisonment. The king spake kindly to her, and referred her to the lord-keeper, to whom she went, but could not obtain what she desired, for he said, The king could not release me otherwise than by a pardon. And I was not free to receive a pardon, knowing I had not done evil; for I had rather have lain in prison all my days than have come out in any way dishonourable to truth. Wherefore, I chose to have the validity of my indictment tried before the judges.

After I had suffered imprisonment a year and almost two months for nothing, I was fairly set at liberty upon a trial of the errors in my indictment, without receiving any pardon, or coming under any obligation or engagement at all. And the Lord's everlasting power went over all, to his glory and praise, and to the magnifying of his name for ever! Amen.

I stayed in and near London until the yearly meeting came on, to which Friends came up from most parts of the nation, and some from beyond the seas, and a glorious meeting we had in the everlasting power of God. After this meeting was over, the parliament being also risen (who had done nothing for nor against Friends), I was clear of my service for the Lord at London. And, having taken my leave of Friends there, and had a glorious meeting with some of them at John Elson's in the morning before I came away, I set forward from thence, with my wife and her

daughter Susan, by coach (for I was not able to travel on horseback) towards the north, and came safe to Swarthmore. After I had been a while at Swarthmore, several Friends from divers places and parts of the nation came to visit me, and some out of Scotland, by whom I understood that there were four young students of Aberdeen convinced there this year at a dispute held there by Robert Barclay and George Keith with some of the scholars of that university.

Among others of the neighbourhood that came to visit me, Colonel Kirby was one, who had been one of my great persecutors, but now he said he came to bid me welcome into the country, and carried himself at this time in appearance very lovingly. Yet, before I went from Swarthmore, he sent for the constables of Ulverstone, and ordered them to come up to me, and to tell me, That we must have no more meetings at Swarthmore, for, if we had, they were commanded by him to break them up; and they were to come the next First-day after. That day we had a very precious meeting there, and the Lord's presence was wonderful amongst us, and the constables did not come to disturb us. But the meetings have been quiet since, and have increased.

The illness I got in my imprisonment at Worcester had so much weakened me that it was long before I recovered my natural strength again. For which reason, and for that I had many things lay upon me to write, both for public and private service, I did not stir much abroad during the time that I now stayed in the north, but, when Friends were not with me, spent pretty much time in writing books and papers for truth's service.

I also writ the following general epistle to Friends at the yearly meeting in London:

My Dear Friends and Brethren, whom the Lord hath preserved by his eternal power to this day over and through many troubles, storms and tempests, and prisons: and therefore let every one's faith stand in the power of God, . . . and not in men, nor their speeches of the good words; for we have seen by experience, when they begin to cry up men, and their faith to stand in them, such men as would have people's faith stand in them love popularity, and bring not people's faith to stand in the power of God, and such cannot exalt Christ; and, when such fall, they draw a great company after them. . . .

And if any should go from the spirit of prophecy, that did open to them, and from the power, they may speak their experiences which the power hath opened to them formerly. . . . Yet if they do not walk in the Spirit of God, and in the light, and in the grace, which keeps their hearts stablished, and their words seasoned, and also their faith to stand in the power of God, in which the kingdom stands; they may go forth like the false Christians, and like the Jews, and like Adam and Eve, and Cain, and Corah, and Balaam, and be wandering stars, trees without fruit, and wells without water, and clouds without rain; and so come to be unsavoury and trodden down. . . .

And all Friends and brethren that do declare God's eternal truth and word of life, live in it; and be seasoned with grace, and salted with the heavenly salt, that your lives and conversations may preach wherever you come: that there be no rawness, nor no quenching of the Spirit,

nor despising prophecy, neither in men nor women. . . . And that there may be none slothful, nor sitting down in earthly things, and minding them, like Demas of old; lest you clothe yourselves with another clothing than you had at first: but all to keep chaste; for the chaste do follow the Lamb.

And Friends that are settled in places, that be ministers, possess, as if ye did not; married, as if ye were not: and be loose to the world in the Lord's power; for God's oil will be a-top of all visible things, which makes his lamps to burn, and to give light afar off. And none strive nor covet to be rich in this world, in these changeable things that will pass away: but your faith to stand in the Lord God, who changes not; that created all, and gives the increase of all. . . .

And Friends, be tender to the tender principle of God in all, and shun the occasion of vain disputes and janglings, both amongst yourselves and others; for that many times is like a blustering wind, that hurts and bruises the tender buds and plants. For the world, though they have the words, yet they be out of the life: and the Apostle's disputing with them were to bring them to the life. And those disputes, that were amongst the Christians about genealogies, and circumcision, and the law, and meats and drinks, and days, those came to be the worst sort of disputers, whom the apostles judged; for such destroyed people from the faith. And therefore did the apostles exhort the churches, that every one's faith should stand in the power of God, and to look at Jesus, which was the author of it; and there every graft stands in Christ, the vine, quiet, where no blustering storms could hurt them:

and there is the safety. And there all are of one mind, one faith, one soul, one spirit, baptized into one body with the one spirit and made all to drink into one spirit; one church, one head, that is heavenly and spiritual; one faith in this head, Christ, who is the author of it, and hath the glory of it; one Lord to order all, who is the baptizer into this one body. . . .

And Friends, in the Lord's power and truth, what good you can do for Friends that be in prison or sufferers, as to the informing of them, or helping of them, every one bend yourselves to the Lord's power and spirit, to do his will and his business; and in that, all will have a fellow-feeling of one another's conditions, in bonds, or in what trials or tribulations soever: you will have a fellow-feeling one of another, having one head, and one Lord, and being one body in Him. . . .

So dwell in the love of God, which passeth knowledge, which love of God doth edify the living members of the body of Christ; which love of God you come to be built up in, and in the holy faith, which Christ is the author of, that stands in his power. And this love of God, it brings you to bear all things, and endure all things, and hope all things. From this love of God, which you have in Christ Jesus, nothing will be able to separate you, neither powers, nor principalities, heights nor depths, things present nor things to come, prisons, nor spoiling of goods, neither death nor life. . . .

And Friends, take heed of speaking the things of God in the words that men's wisdom hath taught; for those words will lift up the foolish, that be erred from the Spirit of God: which words and wisdom is for condemnation, and

that which is lifted up by them, and they that thereby speak the things of God in them. . . .

As I had been moved of the Lord to recommend unto Friends the setting up of the quarterly and monthly meetings in all counties, truth still spreading further over the nation, and Friends increasing in number, I was moved by the same eternal Power to recommend the setting up the women's meetings also; that all, both male and female, that had received the gospel, the word of eternal life, might come into the order of the gospel, brought forth by the power of God, and might act for God in the power, and therein do business and service for Him in his church. All the faithful must labour in God's vineyard, they being his hired servants, and He having given them the earnest of his Spirit. For a master that hires a servant, and gives him the earnest of his hire, expects he should do his work after he knows his will, in the outward creation; so all God's people that be of the new creation and have received the earnest of his Spirit, ought to labour with, by, and in his Spirit, power, and grace, and faith in the light, in God's vineyard, that they may have their wages every one, male and female, when they have done God's work and business in his day, which is eternal life. But none can labour in his vineyard, and do his work and will, but as they walk in the heavenly divine light, grace, and Spirit of Christ, which is, hath been, and is my travail and labour in the Lord to turn all to.

But some that professed truth, and had made a great shew therein, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into jangling, division, and a spirit of separation, endeavoured to discourage Friends (especially the women)

from their godly care and watchfulness in the church over one another in the truth, opposing their meetings, which, in the power of the Lord, were set up for that end and service. Wherefore, I was moved of the Lord to write the following epistle, and send it forth among Friends:

All my dear Friends, live in the seed of peace, Christ Jesus, in whom ye have all life. And that spirit that comes amongst you to raise up strife is out of Christ. . . . Now, some that are of this spirit have said to me, They see no service in women's meetings. My answer is, and hath been, to them and such, If they be blind and without sight, they should not oppose others, for there is none imposes anything upon them; for God never received the blind for a sacrifice, neither can his people. But Christ has enlightened all, and to as many as receive Him He gives power to become the sons of God. And such as be heirs of his power and of his gospel, which brings life and immortality to light, they can see over him that has darkened them; and all such do keep the order of the gospel, the power of God, and their meetings in it; which preserves them in life and in immortality. And all these do see the great service of the men's and of the women's meetings in the order of the gospel, which is the power of God. . . . I did not expect but that there would be an opposition against such meetings. But never heed, truth will come over them all, and is over them all, and faith must have the victory; for the gospel and its order is everlasting, and the Seed (Christ) is the beginning and the ending, and will outlast all; the Amen, in whom ye have peace. . . G. F.

Now, after I had finished those services which lay upon me then to do, feeling my spirit drawn again towards the south (though I was yet but weakly, and not able to travel far in a day), I left Swarthmore on the twenty-sixth day of the First month, 1677. It pleased the Lord to bring me safe to London, though much wearied with travel; for, though I rode not very far in a day, yet, having had much weakness of body, continual travel was hard to me. Besides, I had not much rest a-nights to refresh nature, for I often sate late up with Friends where I lodged, to inform and advise them in things wherein they were wanting; and when I was in bed I was often hindered of sleep by great pains which I felt in my head and teeth, occasioned (as I thought) by cold I had taken by riding often in the rain. But the Lord's power was over all, and carried me through all, to his praise.

In my journey I observed a slackness and shortness in some that professed truth, in keeping up the ancient testimony of truth against tithes; for, wherever that spirit got entrance which wrought division in the church and opposed the men's and women's meetings, it weakened those that received it in their testimony against tithes. Wherefore, I was moved of the Lord to give forth a short paper, by way of an epistle to Friends, to stir up the pure mind in them, and to encourage and strengthen them in their Christian testimony against that anti-Christian yoke and oppression.

I came to London on the twenty-third of the Third month, some ten or twelve days before the yearly meeting. Many Friends came from most parts of the nation, and some out of Scotland, Holland, etc., and very glorious meetings we had, wherein the Lord's powerful presence

was very largely felt, and the affairs of truth were sweetly carried on in the unity of the Spirit, to the satisfaction and comfort of the upright-hearted. Blessed be the Lord for ever!

It was upon me from the Lord to go into Holland to visit Friends there, and to preach the gospel there and in some parts of Germany [in which service he spent three months]. The Friends that then went over with me were William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly and his brother, William Tailcoat, George Watts, and Isabel Yeomans, who is one of my wife's daughters.

At Amsterdam I writ a letter to the Princess Elizabeth, which Isabel Yeomans delivered to her when George Keith's wife and she went to visit her.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH:—I have heard of thy tenderness towards the Lord and his holy truth by some Friends that have visited thee, and also by some of thy letters which I have seen; which indeed is a great thing for a person of thy quality to have such a tender mind after the Lord and his precious truth, seeing so many are swallowed up with voluptuousness and the pleasures of this world; and yet all make an outward profession of God and Christ one way or other, but without any deep inward sense and feeling of Him. For it is not many mighty nor wise of the world that can become fools for Christ's sake, or can become low in the humility of Christ Jesus from their mighty state, through which they might receive a mightier estate and a mightier kingdom through the inward holy Spirit and the divine light and power of God, and a mightier wis-

dom, which is from above, pure and peaceable—which wisdom is above that which is below, that is earthly, sensual, and devilish, by which men destroy one another, yea, about their religions, ways and worships, and churches; but this they have not from God nor Christ. But the wisdom which is from above, by which all things were made and created, which the holy fear of God in the heart is the beginning of, that keeps the heart clean. And by and with this wisdom are all God's children to be ordered, and with it come to order all things to God's glory. So this is the wisdom that is justified of her children; and in this fear of God and wisdom my desire is that thou may be preserved to God's glory. For the Lord is come to teach his people Himself, and to set up his ensign, that the nations may flow unto it. And there hath been an apostacy since the apostles' days from the divine light of Christ, which should have given them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus; and likewise from the Holy Spirit, which would have led them into all truth; and therefore have people set up so many leaders without them, to give them knowledge; and also from the holy and precious faith which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of; which faith purifies the heart, and gives victory over that which separates from God; through which faith they have access to God, and in which faith they please God; the mystery of which faith is held in a pure conscience; and also from the gospel which was preached in the apostles' days (which gospel is the power of God), which brings life and immortality to light in man and woman, by which people should have seen over the devil that has darkened them, and before he was; which

gospel will preserve all them that receive it in life and in immortality. For the eyes of people have been after men, and not after the Lord, who doth write his law in the hearts and puts it into the minds of all the children of the new covenant of light, life, and grace; through which they all come to know the Lord, from the least to the greatest, so that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the earth as the waters doth the sea. And this work of the Lord is a beginning again, as it was in the apostles' days, that people shall come to receive an unction in them again from the Holy One, by which they shall know all things, and shall not need any man to teach them but as the anointing doth teach them; and also to know what the righteousness of faith speaks, the word nigh in the heart and mouth, to obey it and to do it; which was the word of faith the apostles preached, which is now received and preached again, which is the duty of all true Christians to receive. And so now people are coming out of the apostacy to the light of Christ and his Spirit, and to receive faith from Him, and not from men, and to receive the gospel from Him and their unction from Him, the Word; and as they receive Him they declare Him freely, as his command was to his disciples and is so still to the learners and receivers of Him. For the Lord God and his Son Jesus Christ is come to teach his people, and to bring them from all the world's ways to Christ, the way, the truth, and the life, who is the way to the Father; and from all the world's teachers and speakers to Him, the speaker and teacher (as Heb. i. 1); and from all the world's worshippers to worship God in the spirit and in the truth (which the devil, the destroyer, is out of); which worship Christ set up above

sixteen hundred years ago, when he put down the Jews' worship at the temple at Jerusalem and the worship at the mountain where Jacob's well was; and to bring people from all the world's religions which they have made since the apostles' days to the religion that was set up by Christ and his apostles, which is pure and undefiled before God, and keeps from the spots of the world; and to bring them out of all the world's churches and fellowships that they have made and set up since the apostles' days to the church that is in God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (Thess. i. 1); and to bring to the unity and fellowship in the Holy Spirit, that doth mortify and circumcise and baptize to plunge down sin and corruption that has got up in man and woman by transgression: and in this Holy Spirit there is a holy fellowship and unity; yea, it is the bond of the Prince of princes and King of kings and Lord of lords' peace, which heavenly peace all the true Christians are to maintain with spiritual weapons, not with carnal.

And now, my friend, the holy men of God did speak forth the Scriptures as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and all Christendom are on heaps about those Scriptures, because they are not led by the same Holy Ghost as they were that gave forth the Scriptures, which Holy Ghost they must come to in themselves and be led by, if they come into all the truth of them and to have the comfort of God and Christ and them. For none can call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Ghost, and all they that do call Christ Lord without the Holy Ghost take his name in vain. And, likewise, all that name his name are to depart from iniquity; then they name his name with reverence in truth and righteousness. And O therefore feel the

grace and truth in thy heart that is come by Jesus Christ, which is a teacher that will teach thee how to live and what to deny; and it will establish thy heart and season thy words and bring thy salvation, and will be a teacher unto thee at all times, and by it thou mayest receive Christ, from whence it comes; and as many as receive Him to them He gives power not only to stand against sin and evil, but to become the sons of God; if sons, then heirs, of a life and a world and kingdom that is everlasting, without end, and of the eternal riches and treasures thereof. So in haste, with my love in the Lord Jesus Christ, that has tasted death for every man, and bruises the serpent's head that has been betwixt man and God, that through Christ man may come to God again, and so can praise God through Jesus Christ, the Amen, who is the spiritual and heavenly rock and foundation for all God's people to build upon, to the praise and glory of God, who is over all, blessed for evermore! GEORGE FOX.

AMSTERDAM, the 7th of the 6th month, 1677.

P. S.—The bearer hereof is a daughter-in-law of mine, that comes with Gertrude Dirick Nieson and George Keith's wife, to give thee a visit. G. F.

THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, HER ANSWER TO THE AFORESAID LETTER.

DEAR FRIEND:—I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom it is given, not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for Him; therefore your letter and your friend's visit have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and

your counsel as far as God will afford me light and unction: remaining still your loving friend, ELIZABETH.

HERTFORT, the 30th of August, 1677.

Coming to Oldenburgh, it was a lamentable sight to see so great and brave a city burnt down. We went to an inn, and though it was the First-day of the week, there were the soldiers drinking, and playing at shovel-board; and at those few houses that were left, the shops were open, and the people trading one with another. I was moved to speak to the people, and declare the truth among them, and warn them of the judgments of God. And though they heard me quietly, and were civil towards me, yet I was burdened with their wickedness. And many times in mornings, noons, and nights, at the inns, and on the ways, as I travelled, I spake to the people, preaching the truth to them, and warning them of the day of the Lord, and exhorting them to turn to the light and Spirit of God in themselves, that thereby they might be led out of evil.

We took shipping at Embden, and passed to Delfziel, and went to an inn, where a Friend came to us, that then lived in Delfziel, having been often banished from Embden. He was a goldsmith by trade, and had an house and shop in Embden; and still as they banished him, he went again. Then they imprisoned him, and fed him with bread and water; and at length took his goods from him, and banished him, his wife, and children; leaving them neither place to come to, nor any thing to subsist on. We comforted and encouraged him in the Lord, exhorting him to be faithful, and stand stedfast in the testimony committed to him.

Finding our spirits clear of the service which the Lord

had given us to do in Holland, we took leave of Friends, and passed by boat to the Briel, in order to take passage in the packet-boat for England; several Friends of Rotterdam accompanying us, and some of Amsterdam. I stayed in London a month or five weeks, visiting meetings, and helping and encouraging Friends to labour for the deliverance of their suffering brethren in other parts. Afterwards we travelled through the country, visiting Friends, and having many meetings amongst them. I came to London on the Eighth day of the Third month.

About two weeks after I came to London, the yearly meeting began, to which Friends came up out of most parts of the nation; and a glorious heavenly meeting we had. Oh, the glory, majesty, love, life, wisdom, and unity, that was amongst us! the Power reigned over all; and many testimonies were born therein against that ungodly spirit which sought to make rents and divisions amongst the Lord's people; but not one mouth was opened amongst us in its defence, or on its behalf. Good and comfortable accounts also we had, for the most part, from Friends in other countries; of which I find a brief account in a letter, which soon after I writ to my wife, the copy whereof here follows:

Dear Heart:—To whom is my love in the everlasting seed of life that reigns over all. Great meetings here have been, and the Lord's power hath been stirring through all; the like hath not been. And the Lord hath in his power knit Friends wonderfully together, and the glorious presence of the Lord did appear among Friends. And now the meetings are over (blessed be the Lord!) in quietness and

peace. From Holland, I hear that things are well there. Some Friends are gone that way, to be at their yearly meeting at Amsterdam. At Embden, Friends that were banished, are gotten into the city again. At Dantzick, Friends are in prison; and the magistrates threatened them with harder imprisonment: but the next day the Lutherans rose, and plucked down (or defaced) the Popish monastery; so they have work enough among themselves. The King of Poland did receive my letter, and read it himself; and Friends have since printed it in High Dutch. By letters from the half-yearly meeting in Ireland, I hear that they be all in love there. And at Barbadoes, Friends are in quietness, and their meetings settled in peace. At Antegoa, also, and Nevis, truth prospers, and Friends have their meetings orderly and well. Likewise in New England, and other places, things concerning truth and Friends are well; and in those places, the men's and women's meetings are settled; blessed be the Lord! So keep in God's power and seed, that is over all, in whom ye all have life and salvation; for the Lord reigns over all, in his glory, and in his kingdom. Glory to his name for ever, amen! So in haste, with my love to you all, and to all Friends, G. F.

London, the 26th of the 3d Month, 1678.

I continued yet in and about London some weeks, the Parliament sitting again, and Friends attending upon them to get some redress of our sufferings, which about this time were very great, and heavy upon many Friends in divers parts of the nation; they being very unduly prosecuted upon the statutes made against Popish recusants; though

our persecutors could not but know that Friends were utterly against Popery; having born testimony against it in word and writing, and suffered under it. But though many of the members of Parliament in either House were kind to Friends, and willing to have done something for their ease; yet, having much business upon them, they were hindered from doing the good they would; so that the sufferings upon Friends were continued.

But that which added much to the grief and exercise of Friends was, that some who made a profession of the same truth with us, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into a fleshly liberty, and labouring to draw others after them, did oppose the order and discipline which God by his power had set up and established in his church; and made a great noise and clamour against prescriptions; whereby they easily drew after them such as were loosely inclined, and desired a broader way than the path of truth to walk in. Some also, that were more simple, but young in truth or weak in judgment, were apt to be betrayed by them, not knowing the depths of Satan in these wiles. For whose sakes I was moved to write the following paper, for the undeceiving the deceived, and the opening the understandings of the weak in this matter:

All you that do deny prescriptions without distinction, you may as well deny all the scriptures which were given forth by the power and Spirit of God. For do not they prescribe how men should walk both to God and man, both in the Old Testament and in the New? Yea, from the very first promise of Christ in Genesis, what people ought to believe and trust in; and all along till ye come to the

Prophets. Did not the Lord prescribe to his people, both by the fathers and then by his prophets? did He not prescribe to the people how they should walk, though they turned against the prophets in the old covenant for declaring or prescribing to them the way how they might walk to please God, and keep in favour with Him? And then, after, in the days of Christ, did not He prescribe and teach how people should walk and believe? And after Him the apostles; did not they prescribe unto people how they might come to believe, and receive the gospel and the kingdom of God, directing unto that which would give them the knowledge of God, and how they should walk in the new covenant in the days of the gospel, and by what way they should come to the holy city? And did not the apostles send forth their decrees by faithful, chosen men, (them that had hazarded their lives for Christ's sake,) to the churches, by which they were established? And so you, that deny prescriptions given forth by the power and Spirit of God, do thereby oppose the Spirit that gave them forth in all the holy men of God. . . . And see what liberty they pleaded for, and ran into in the apostles' days, who could not abide the cross, the yoke of Jesus. And therefore we see, the same rough and high spirit cries now for liberty (which the power and Spirit of Christ cannot give); and cries imposition, and yet is imposing; and cries liberty of conscience, and yet is opposing liberty of conscience; and cries against prescriptions, and yet is prescribing both in words and writing: so with the everlasting power and Spirit of God this spirit is fathomed, its rise, beginning, and end; and it is judged. And this spirit cries, we must not judge conscience, we must not judge matters of faith,

and we must not judge the spirits, nor religions, etc. Yes, they that be in the pure Spirit and power of God, which the apostles were in, they judge of conscience, whether it be a seared conscience or a tender conscience; they judge of faith, whether it be a dead one or a living one; they judge of religion, whether it be vain, or pure, or undefiled; they judge of spirits and try them, whether they be of God or no; they judge of hope, whether it be of hypocrites or the true hope that purifies, even as God is pure; they judge of belief, whether it be that which is born of God and overcometh the world, or that which runs into the spirit of the world, which lusts to envy and doth not overcome the world; and they judge of worships, whether they be will-worships and the worship of the beast and dragon, or the worship of God in spirit and in truth; they judge of angels, whether they be fallen or them that keep their habitation; and they judge the world, that grieves and quenches the Spirit, and hates the light, and turns the grace of God into wantonness, and resists the Holy Ghost; they judge of the hearts, ears, and lips, which are circumcised and which are uncircumcised; they judge of ministers, and apostles and messengers, whether they be of Satan or of Christ; they judge of differences in outward things, in the church or elsewhere; yea, the least member of the church hath power to judge of such things, having the one true measure and true weight to weigh things, and measure things withal, without respect to persons. And this judgment is given, and all these things are done by the same power and Spirit the apostles were in. And also such can judge of election and reprobation; and who keep their habitation and who not; and who are Jews, and who are

of the synagogue of Satan; and who are in the doctrine of Christ, and who are in the doctrines of devils; and who prescribes and declares things from the power and Spirit of God, to preserve all in the power and Spirit of God; and who prescribes and declares things from a loose spirit, to let all loose from under the yoke of Christ, the power of God, into looseness and liberty. And likewise can judge and discern who brings people into the possession of the gospel of light and life over death and darkness, and into the truth, where the devil cannot get in; and who brings them into the possession of death and darkness, out of the glorious liberty of the gospel, and of Jesus Christ, and his faith, and truth, and Spirit, and light, and grace. For there is no true liberty but in that; and that liberty answers the grace, the truth, the light, the Spirit, the faith, the gospel of Christ, in every man and woman, and is the yoke to the contrary in every man and woman. . . . And Christ hath given judgment to his saints in his church, though He be judge of all; and the saints, in the power and Spirit of God, had and have power to judge of words and manners, of lives and conversations, and growths and states from a child to a father in the truth; and to whom they are a savour of death, and to whom they are a savour of life; and who serve the Lord Jesus Christ and preach Him, and who preach themselves and serve themselves; and who talk of the light, and of faith, and of the gospel, and of hope, and of grace, and preach such things; and in their works and lives deny them all, and God and Christ, and preach up liberty from that in themselves to that in others, which should be under the yoke and cross of Christ, the power of God. And so the saints, in the power and

Spirit of Christ, can discern and distinguish who serves God and Christ, and who serves Him not; and so can put a distinction between the profane and the holy. But such as have lost their eye-salve, and their sight is grown dim, lose this judgment, discerning, and distinction in the church of Christ. . . . And therefore all are exhorted to keep in the power and Spirit of Christ Jesus, and in the word of life, and the wisdom of God, (which is above that that is below;) in which they may keep their heavenly understandings and heavenly discernings; and so set the heavenly spiritual judgment over that which is for judgment, which dishonours God, which leads into loose and false liberty; out of the unity which stands in the heavenly Spirit; which brings into conformity, and to be conformable to the image of the Son of God, and his gospel, the power of God, (which was before the devil was,) and his truth, (which the devil is out of;) in which all are of one mind, heart, and soul, and come to drink into one Spirit, being baptized into one Spirit, and so into one body, which Christ is the head of; and so keep one fellowship in the Spirit, and unity in the Spirit, which is the bond of peace, the Prince of princes' peace. . . .

At Leicester I went to the jail to visit the Friends that were in prison there for the testimony of Jesus, with whom I spent some time; encouraging them in the Lord to persevere stedfastly and faithfully in their testimony, and not to be weary of suffering for his sake. And when I had taken my leave of the Friends I spake with the jailer, desiring him to be kind to them, and let them have what liberty he could to visit their families sometimes.

After this I spent about two weeks in Yorkshire, travel-

ling from place to place amongst Friends in the Lord's service, and many heavenly meetings I had in that county. Then, visiting Robert Widders at Kellet, in Lancashire, I passed to Arnside, in Westmoreland, where I had a precious, living meeting in the Lord's blessed power, to the great satisfaction and comfort of Friends, who came from divers parts to it. The next day I went to Swarthmore; and, it being the meeting-day there, I had a sweet opportunity with Friends, our hearts being opened in the love of God, and his blessed life flowing amongst us.

I abode in the north at this time above a year, having service for the Lord amongst Friends there, and being much taken up in writing books and papers—some in defence of truth in answer to books published by adversaries, and some for the opening the principles and doctrines of truth to the world, that they might come to have a right understanding thereof and be gathered thereunto. Divers epistles and papers I writ unto Friends, during my stay in the north: one whereof was, in a few lines, To encourage Friends to be bold and valiant for the truth which the Lord had called them to bear witness to.

The next day, having a sense upon me how some that had received the truth and had openings thereof, for want of keeping low, had run out therefrom, I was moved to give forth the following epistle as a warning and exhortation to all to dwell in humility:

My Dear Friends, whom the Lord in his tender mercies hath visited with the day-spring from on high, and hath opened you to confess and bow to his name, keep low in your minds and learn of Christ, who teacheth you humil-

ity and to keep in it; so that in no wise ye that be younger be exalted or puffed up or conceited through your openings, and by that means lose your conditions by being carried up into presumption, and then fall into despair, and so abuse the power of God. . . . Therefore, it doth concern you to be comprehended into that which ye do preach to others, and to keep low in it, and then the God of truth will exalt the humble in his truth, light, grace, power, and Spirit, and in his wisdom to his glory. . . . So let none quench the Spirit nor its motions, nor grieve it, nor err from it, but be led by it, which keeps every one in their tents. Which Holy Spirit of God giveth them an understanding how to serve and worship and please the holy, pure God, their Maker and Creator in Christ Jesus, and how to wait, and how to speak, and so to answer the Spirit of God in his people, in which Holy Spirit is the holy unity and fellowship. . . .

About the latter end of this year I was moved of the Lord to travel up into the south again. Wherefore, after I had taken my leave of my wife and the family, and of the neighbouring Friends, I set forward on my journey in the beginning of the First month, 1679–80. I abode at London most part of this winter, having much service for the Lord there, both in meetings and out; for, as it was a time of great sufferings upon Friends, I was drawn forth in spirit to visit Friends' meetings more frequently, to encourage and strengthen them both by exhortation and example. The parliament also was sitting, and Friends were diligent to wait upon them to lay their grievances before them, of which we received fresh accounts almost every day of the sad sufferings Friends underwent in many

parts of the nation. In this service of seeking relief for my suffering brethren I spent much time, together with other Friends, who were freely given up to that service, attending at the parliament-house day by day for many days together, and watching all opportunities to speak with such members of either house as would hear our just complaints. And, indeed, some of the members of each house were very courteous to us, and appeared willing to help us if they could. But, the parliament being then earnest in examining the Popish Plot, and contriving ways to discover such as were popishly affected, our adversaries took advantages against us (because they knew we could not swear nor fight) to expose us to those penalties that were made against Papists, though they knew in their consciences that we were no Papists, and had had experience of us that we were no plotters.

A little before the time came for the choosing new sheriffs for the city, they who stood to be chosen, desiring our Friends to give their voices for them, I writ a few lines tending to discover what spirit they were of, and how they stood affected to true liberty. But whatever they were that stood to be chosen, I observed there was a heat and strife in the spirits of the people that were to choose; wherefore I writ a few lines to be spread amongst them, directed thus:

TO THE PEOPLE WHO ARE CHOOSING SHERIFFS IN LONDON.

People.—All keep in the gentle and peaceable wisdom of God, which is above that that is earthly, sensual, and devilish; and live in that love of God that is not puffed up nor is unseemly, which envieth not, but beareth and

endureth all things; and in this love ye will seek the good and peace of all men and the hurt of no man. Keep out of all heats, and be not hot-headed, but be cool and gentle, that your Christian moderation may appear to all men, for the Lord is at hand who beholds all men's words, thoughts, and actions, and will reward every one according to their works; and what every man soweth that shall he reap.

I writ another paper also concerning meditation, delight, exercise, and study, shewing from the Scriptures of truth what the true Christians ought to meditate upon and to exercise their minds in, and what they should take delight in, and what they should study to do. For in these things not the profane and loose people only, but even the great professors of religion, are very much mistaken, taking delight in earthly, fading, perishing things, whereas they ought to meditate on heavenly things, and to delight in the law of God after the inward man, and exercise themselves to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men, as the apostle Paul did.

The heat of persecution still continuing, I felt my service to be most at London, where our meetings were for the most part disturbed and broken up, or Friends were forced to meet without doors, being kept out of their meeting-houses by the officers. Yet sometimes, beyond expectation, we got a quiet and peaceable meeting in the houses. One time I was minded to have gone a mile or two out of town to visit a Friend that was not well. But, hearing that the king had sent to the mayor to put the laws in execution against Dissenters, and that the magistrates, thereupon, intended to nail up the meeting-house doors, I

had not freedom to go out of town, but was moved to go to the meeting at Gracious street. And, notwithstanding all the threats, a great meeting it was, and very quiet; and the glory of the Lord shone over all.

It was not long after this that I received an account by letter from some Friends that were prisoners in Denby, in Wales, by which I understood that many Friends there were under great sufferings for the testimony of a good conscience. In the tender sense whereof I was moved in the love of God to visit them with a few lines as a word of consolation to them in their sufferings, and of exhortation to stand fast in the testimony committed to them. And that which I writ was thus:

Dear suffering lambs, for the name and command of Jesus. Be valiant for his truth and faithful, and ye will feel the presence of Christ with you. And look at Him who suffered for you, and hath bought you and will feed you, who saith, Be of good comfort, I have overcome the world; who destroys the devil and his works, and bruises the serpent's head. I say, Look at Christ, who is your sanctuary, in whom ye have rest and peace. To you it is given not only to believe but to suffer for his name's sake. And they that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution by the ungodly professors of Christ Jesus, who live out of Him. And therefore be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and look above that spirit that makes you suffer, up to Christ, who was before it was, and will be when it is gone. Consider all the prophets, Christ, and the apostles who suffered and were persecuted, but they never persecuted them as true men, but as deceivers, and yet true.

And Christ is the same to-day as He was yesterday—a rock and foundation for your age and generation for you to build upon.

Now, because the magistrates were, many of them, unwilling to have fines laid upon meeting-houses, they kept Friends out in many places, setting officers and guards of soldiers at the doors and passages. And yet sometimes Friends were fined for speaking or praying, though it were abroad. One First-day it was upon me to go to Devonshire-House meeting in the afternoon, and, because I had heard Friends were kept out there that morning (as they were that day at most meetings about the city), I went somewhat the sooner, and got into the yard before the soldiers came to guard the passages, but the constables were got there before me, and stood in the doorway with their staves. I asked them to let me go in. They said, They could not, nor durst not, for they were commanded the contrary, and were sorry for it. I told them I would not press upon them, so I stood by, and they were very civil. I stood till I was weary, and then one gave me a stool to sit down on; and after a while the power of the Lord began to spring up among Friends, and one began to speak. The constables soon forbade him, and said he should not speak, and he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let him alone. The constable did so, and was quiet, and the man did not speak long. When he had done, after a while I was moved to stand up and speak, and in my declaration I said, They need not come against us with swords and staves, for we were a peaceable people, and had nothing in our

hearts but good-will to the king and magistrates, and to all people upon the earth. And we did not meet, under pretence of religion, to plot and contrive against the government, or to raise insurrections, but to worship God in spirit and in truth. And we had Christ to be our bishop and priest, and shepherd to feed us and oversee us, and He ruled in our hearts, so we could all sit in silence enjoying our teacher. So to Christ, their bishop and shepherd, I did recommend them all. And, after I had spoken what was upon me at that time, I sate down, and after a while I was moved to pray; and the power of the Lord was over all Friends, and the people and the constable and soldiers put off their hats. And when the meeting was done, and Friends began to pass away, the constable put off his hat and desired the Lord to bless us; for the power of the Lord was over him and the people, and kept them under.

The next First-day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy, and by that time the meeting was gathered the beadle came in, and after him came in the wild people, like a sea, but the Lord's power chained them all. The Spirit of the Lord went through and over all, and they were quiet, and we had a glorious, peaceable meeting: blessed be the Lord for his unspeakable goodness! This was in the Twelfth month, 1682.

In the First month, 1683, I went to Kingston-upon-Thames, and, it being then a time of persecution, as I went to the meeting I met the chief constable, who had been at the meeting-place, and had set watchmen there to keep us out; yet he was pretty civil, and the watchmen let Friends have a couple of forms out to sit upon in the highway: so Friends met together there, and a very precious

meeting we had, for the refreshing presence of the Lord was with us, in which we parted in peace.

Having visited and encouraged Friends there, I returned to London, and went to the meeting at Bull and Mouth, where the constables, with their watchmen, kept a guard to keep Friends out of the house. So we met in the street, and when any Friend spake the officers and watchmen made a great bustle to pull him down and take him into custody. After some other Friends had spoken, it was upon me to speak, and I said, Heaven is God's throne, and earth is his footstool; and will ye not let us stand upon God's footstool to worship and serve the living God? While I spake they were quiet, and, after I had cleared myself of what was upon me to speak, we brake up our meeting in peace.

I tarried now in and near about London, visiting Friends' meetings, and labouring in the service of the gospel, until the yearly meeting came on, which began on the twenty-eighth of the Third month this year. It was a time of great sufferings, and much concerned I was lest Friends that came up out of the countries on the church's service should be taken and imprisoned at London. But the Lord was with us, and his power preserved us, and gave us a sweet and blessed opportunity to wait upon Him, and be refreshed together in Him, and to perform those services for his truth and people for which we met. Now, inasmuch as it was a time of great persecution, and we understood by our Friends who came out of the several parts of the nation that in most counties Friends were under great sufferings, either by imprisonments or spoilings of goods, or both, a concern was weightily upon me

lest any Friends that were sufferers, especially such as were traders and dealers in the world, should hazard the losing of other men's goods or estates through their sufferings. Wherefore, as the thing opened in me, I drew an epistle of caution to Friends in that case, which I communicated to the brethren at the yearly meeting, and from thence it was sent forth among Friends throughout the nation. A copy of which here followeth:

Dear Friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is your only Sanctuary in this day of storm and persecution, spoiling of goods, and imprisonments: Let every one's eyes be unto Him who has all power in heaven and earth given unto Him, so that none can touch a hair of your head, nor you, nor any thing ye have, except it be permitted or suffered in this day to try his people whether their minds be with the Lord or in the outward things. And now, dear Friends, take care that all your offerings may be free, and of your own that has cost you something, so that ye may not offer of that which is another man's or that which ye are intrusted withal (and not your own) or fatherless or widow's estates, but all such things ye may settle and establish in their places. You may remember, many years ago, in a time of great persecution, there were divers Friends who were traders, shop-keepers, and others who had the concerns of widows and fatherless and other people's estates in their hands; and when a great suffering, persecution, and spoiling of goods came upon Friends there were especial care taken that all Friends that did suffer, what they did offer up to the Lord in their sufferings might be really their own and not any other's estates or goods

which they had in their hands and were not really their own, so that they might not offer up another body's but that which was really their own, which they had bought and paid for, or were able to pay for; and afterwards several letters came out of the country to the meeting at London from Friends that had goods of the shop-keepers here at London upon credit, which they had not paid for, who writ to their creditors whom they had their goods of, entreating them to take their goods again. And some Friends came to London themselves and treated with their creditors, letting them understand how their conditions were, That they lay liable to have all that they had taken from them, and told them, They would not have any man to suffer by them, neither would they by suffering offer up any thing but what was really their own or what they were able to pay for. Upon which several took their goods back again that they had sent down. And this wrought a very good savour in the hearts of many people when they saw that there was such a righteous, just, and honest principle in Friends that would not make any to suffer for their testimony; but what they did suffer for the testimony of Jesus it should be really and truly their own, not other people's. And in this they owed nothing to any but love. . . .

Some time after the yearly meeting I went down to Kingston-upon-Thames to visit Friends there, and while I was there it came upon me to write the following epistle to Friends in general, as a salutation of love unto them and to stir up the pure mind in them:

Dear Friends and brethren who are turned from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, who are the believers in the light, which is the life in Christ, and are become the children of the light and of the day, and are grafted into Christ, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and so are gathered in the name of Jesus, in whom ye have salvation, and not in any other name under the whole heaven. For Christ Jesus saith, Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them (Matt. xviii. 20). So here you, being gathered in the name of Jesus, he is in the midst of you, a Saviour, a Mediator, a Prophet, a Shepherd, a Bishop, a Leader, a Counsellor, the Captain of your salvation, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works. Therefore, brethren in Christ Jesus, exhort one another daily while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. For you are made partakers of Christ if ye hold fast the beginning of your confidence steadfast to the end (Heb. iii. 14). Therefore, hear Christ's voice, for He is in the midst of you a teacher. . . . But, as it is written, Behold! I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone and a rock of offence, and whoso believes on Him shall not be ashamed. So Christ is a stumbling-stone and a rock of offence to all the unbelievers in the light which is the life in Christ, whether they be Jews, Christians, or Gentiles. The Jews did believe a Christ was to come, from the Scriptures; and the Christians believe he is come, by the Scriptures, but do not believe in the light (which is the life in Christ) as Christ commands, and so do not become the children of the light. Therefore ye that are the be-

lievers in the light, and are become the children of the light, walk in Christ, your way, life, and salvation. G. F.

Kingston, the 5th month, 1683.

Before I left Kingston something further opened in me, which I was moved to write and send forth amongst Friends, and it was as followeth:

Dear Friends.—My love is to you all in the holy seed that reigns over all. And my desire is that every one, both male and female, may feel the seed Christ in you, which is heir of the promise of life eternal, so that ye may all grow up in Christ Jesus, your head, and be built upon Him, the rock and foundation that God hath laid, which stands sure over all rocks and foundations in the world. That ye may eat and drink of this spiritual rock, the spiritual water and food, so that ye may truly and inwardly say that your rock and foundation and bread of life and water of life is from heaven, and your bread and water is sure; and that ye know his voice that feeds you and that leads you into the pastures of life, which are always fresh and green. In this your affections are set on things that are above, and seeking that which comes down from above (above that which is from below), where Christ sits at the right hand of God making intercession for you, and is your mediator, making peace betwixt God and you, and is your heavenly bishop to oversee you that ye keep in his light, life, and power, that ye do not go astray from his heavenly fold and pasture, but He, your shepherd, may feed you in it; who is your prophet to open to you the ful-

filling of the promises and prophecies, Himself being the substance; that ye may live in Him and He in you, yea, and reign in your hearts, and there to exercise his offices, his prophetical and priestly and kingly office, who is heavenly and spiritual. That ye may know the three that bear witness in the earth, viz., the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, which is the Life of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin, and the Water that washes you and refreshes you, and the Spirit that baptizes you and circumcises you and leads you into all truth. And that ye may come all to drink into one Spirit and keep the unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of the heavenly peace. So, being led by the Spirit of God, ye are his sons and daughters, and by his Spirit will come to know the three that bear witness in heaven, viz., the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. These are the three witnesses that are in heaven, that bear record of all things, for He is God in the heaven and God in the earth. And therefore I desire that ye may all feel his love shed in your hearts, and in it live in love (above the love of the world, which is enmity), and in that you will keep in the excellent way. For love edifies the body of Christ, and builds his church up, and keeps out of the enmity, for it is above it; and brings and keeps all in true humanity and in the true divinity; and to be courteous and kind and tender one towards another; and to shew forth the nature of Christ and true Christianity in all your lives and conversations. . . .

I continued yet at London, labouring in the work and service of the Lord both in meetings and out, sometimes visiting the Friends that were in prison for the testimony

of Jesus, encouraging them in their sufferings, and exhorting them to stand faithful and steadfast in the testimony which the Lord had committed to them to bear; sometimes also visiting those that were sick and weak in body or troubled in mind, helping to bear their spirits up from sinking under their infirmities. Sometimes our meetings were quiet and peaceable; sometimes they were disturbed and broken up by the officers. One First-day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy, and it was a large meeting, for many professors and sober people were there. And the Lord opened many precious, weighty things in me to the people, which I declared amongst them, and directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, which the Lord had given them a measure of; that all, by the Spirit, might understand the Scriptures, which were given forth from the Spirit of God; and that by the Spirit of God they might know God and Christ, whom God hath sent, whom to know was eternal life; and that by the Spirit they might all come into Christ, and know Him to be their sanctuary, who destroys the devil, the destroyer, and his works, and bruises the serpent's head. For Christ was a sanctuary to them to whom He was a Saviour, whom He saved from the destroyer. And Christ did baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and did thoroughly purge his floor, and burn up their chaff with unquenchable fire—that is, sin and corruption, which is got into man and woman by their transgression: but Christ gathereth his wheat into his garner. So all that are baptized with Christ's baptism their wheat is in God's garner; and no spoiler can get into God's garner to meddle with the wheat there, though they may be permitted to meddle

with the outward goods, etc. Now as I was speaking in the power of the Lord, and the people were greatly affected therewith, on a sudden the constables, with the rude people, came in like a sea, and one of the constables said to me, Come down, and he laid hands on me. I asked him, Art thou a Christian? We are Christians. He had hold on my hand, and was very fierce to pluck me down, but I stood still, and spake a few words to the people, desiring of the Lord that the blessings of God might rest upon them all. The constable still called upon me to come down, and at length plucked me down, and bid another man with a staff take me and carry me to prison. That man had me to another officer's house, who was more civil; and after a while they brought in four Friends more whom they had taken. After a while the constables had us almost a mile to a justice, who was a fierce, passionate man; who, after he had asked me my name, and his clerk had taken it down in writing, upon the constable's informing him that I preached in the meeting, said in an angry manner, Do not you know that it is contrary to the king's laws to preach in such conventicles contrary to the liturgy of the Church of England? I thought he would have sworn somebody against me, whereupon I said, Let no man swear against me, for it is my principle not to swear; and therefore I would not have any man swear against me. The justice thereupon asked me, If I did not preach in the meeting? I told him, I did confess what God and Christ had done for my soul, and did praise God; and I thought I might have done that in the streets and in all places, viz., praise God and confess Christ Jesus, and this I was not ashamed to confess. Neither was this contrary to the

liturgy of the Church of England. The justice said, The laws were against such meetings as were contrary to the liturgy of the Church of England. I said, I knew no such laws against our meetings, but if he did mean that Act that was made against such as did meet to plot and contrive and raise insurrections against the king, we were no such people; but did abhor all such actions, and did bear true love and good-will to the king and to all men upon the earth. The justice said, Seeing there was but one witness, he would discharge the rest, but he would send me to Newgate, and I might preach there, he said. I asked him, If it stood with his conscience to send me to Newgate for praising God and for confessing Christ Jesus? He cried, Conscience! Conscience! But I felt my words touched his conscience. He bid the constable take me away, and he would make a mittimus to send me to prison when he had dined. I told him, I desired his peace and the good of his family, and that they might be kept in the fear of the Lord. So I passed away, and as we went the constable took some Friends' word that I should come to his house the next morning by the eighth hour. Accordingly, I did go with those Friends, and then the constable told us that he went to the justice for the mittimus after he had dined, and the justice bid him come again after the evening service; which he did, and then the justice told him he might let me go. So, said the constable, you are discharged.

Now, considering the hurries and bustles that were in the nation, it came upon me to write a few lines to Friends, to caution all to keep out of the spirit of the world, in which the trouble is, and to dwell in the peaceable truth. Wherefore I writ as followeth:

Dear Friends and Brethren, whom the Lord hath called and chosen in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation, in whom ye have all rest and peace with God: the Lord God, by his mighty power, which is over all, hath preserved you and supported you to this day to be a peculiar, holy people to Himself, so that by his eternal Spirit and power ye might be all preserved and kept out of the world; for in the world is the trouble. . . . Christ saith, In me ye shall have peace, but in the world, trouble. And the apostle saith, They that believe are entered into their rest, namely, Christ, who hath overcome the world. . . . So keep and walk in Christ, your Rest, every one that have received Him, your eternal Rest.

And now, dear Friends and brethren, whatever bustlings and trouble, or tumults or outrages, quarrels and strife should arise and be in the world, keep out of them all, and concern not yourselves with them, but keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, that is over all such things; in which power ye seek the peace and good of all men. And live in the love which God hath shed abroad in your hearts through Christ Jesus; in which love nothing is able to separate you from God and Christ. . . .

And now, dear Friends and brethren, abide in Christ, the vine, that ye may bring forth fruit to the glory of God. And as every one hath received Christ, walk in Him (who is not of the world that lies in wickedness), so that ye may be preserved out of the vain fashions and customs of the world, which satisfy the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but are of the world that passes away; . . . so that ye may be a peculiar people, zealous of good works, serving the Lord

God through Jesus Christ, in whom is life; and may be a peculiar people to the praise and glory of God; and by the word of his grace your words may be gracious, and in your lives and conversations ye may shew forth righteousness, holiness, and godliness. That so God Almighty may be glorified in you all, and through you all, who is above all, blessed and praised for ever! Amen.

The yearly meeting being over, and the country Friends for the most part gone out of town, I got a little way out of town also, being much spent with the heat of the weather, throngs in meetings, and continual business. After I had been some weeks in the country (in which time I had several meetings with Friends), I returned to London. I tarried some time in London, visiting meetings, and labouring among Friends in the service of truth. But finding my health much impaired for want of fresh air, I went a little way out of town to Charles Bathurst's country-house at Epping Forest.

I returned to London, but made no long stay there at this time, my body not being able to bear the closeness of the city long together.

After this I went to Enfield, where, and in the country thereabouts, several Friends had country-houses not very far from one another, amongst whom I tarried some time, visiting and being visited by Friends, and having meetings with them. Several things I writ at this time relating to the service of truth: one whereof was concerning judging. For some, who were departed from the truth, were so afraid of truth's judgment that they made it much of their business to cry out against judging. Wherefore I writ a paper,

proving by the Scriptures of truth that the church of Christ hath power and ability to judge those that professed to be of it, not only with respect to outward things relating to this world, but with respect to religious matters also.

I came back to London in the First month, 1686, and set myself with all diligence to look after Friends' sufferings, which we had now some hopes of getting relief for. The sessions came on in the Second month at Hicks's Hall, where many Friends had appeals to be tried; with whom I was from day to day to advise and see that no opportunity was slipped nor advantage lost, and they generally succeeded well. Soon after, also, the king was pleased, upon our often laying our sufferings before him, to give order for the releasing of all prisoners that were imprisoned for conscience' sake, and which were in his power to discharge. Whereby the prison-doors were opened, and many hundreds of Friends, some of whom had been long in prison, were set at liberty; and some of them, who had for many years been restrained in bonds, came now up to the yearly meeting, which was in the Third month this year; which caused great joy to Friends to see our ancient, faithful brethren again at liberty in the Lord's work after their long confinements. And, indeed, a precious meeting we had, the refreshing presence of the Lord appearing plentifully with us and amongst us.

Though very many Friends were released out of prisons, yet some remained prisoners still for tithes, etc., and sufferings of several sorts lay heavy yet on Friends in many places. Yet, inasmuch as many Friends that had been prisoners were now set at liberty, I felt a concern upon me that none might look too much at man, but might eye the

Lord therein, from whom deliverance comes. Wherefore I writ an epistle to Friends, and sent it abroad to be read amongst them, as followeth:

FRIENDS.—The Lord by his eternal power hath opened the heart of the king to open the prison-doors, by which about fifteen or sixteen hundred are set at liberty, and hath given a check to the informers, so that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. So my desires are that both liberty and sufferings all may be sanctified to his people, and Friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to Him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves of the seas, and allayeth the storms and tempests and maketh a calm. And therefore it is good to trust in the Lord, and cast your care upon Him who careth for you. For when ye were in your jails and prisons then the Lord did by his eternal arm and power uphold you, and sanctified them to you (and unto some He made them as a sanctuary); and tried his people, as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and spoiling of goods. And in all this the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know that the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; and that He was in all places; who crowneth the year with his goodness (Psalm lxv.). Therefore let all God's people be diligent and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure, and clean, and to serve God and Christ and one another in the glorious, peaceable gospel of life and salvation; which glory shines over God's camp, and his great Prophet and Bishop and Shepherd is among or in the midst of them, exercising his heavenly offices in them, so that you, his people, may rejoice in Christ Jesus, through whom you have peace

with God. For He that destroyeth the devil and his works, and bruises the serpent's head, is all God's peoples' heavenly foundation and rock to build upon; which was the holy prophets' and apostles' rock in days past, and is now a rock of our ages: which rock and foundation of God standeth sure. And upon this the Lord God establish all his people. Amen. G. F.

London, the 25th of the 7th month, 1686.

Divers other epistles and papers, relating to Friends and truth, I writ this year, whereof one was by way of exhortation to Friends to keep in unity in the truth, in which there is no division nor separation. And thus it was:

Dear Friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom ye have all peace and life, and in Him there is no division, nor schism, nor rent, nor strife, nor separation; for Christ is not divided, and there can be no separation in the truth, nor in the light, grace, faith, and Holy Ghost, but unity and fellowship and communion. For the devil was the first that went out of the truth and separated from it, and tempted man and woman to disobey God and to go from the truth into a false liberty, to do that which God forbade. And so it is the serpent now that leads men and women into a false liberty, even the god of the world, from which man and woman must be separated by the truth, that Christ, the truth, may make them free, and then they are free indeed. And then they are to stand fast in that liberty in which Christ hath made them free. . . . Many, you see, have lost the word of patience and the

word of wisdom, that is pure and peaceable and gentle and easy to be entreated. Then they run into the wisdom that is below, that is earthly, sensual, and devilish, and very uneasy to be entreated. And they go from the love of God, that beareth all things and endureth all things, and thinks no evil, and doth not behave itself unseemly; then they cannot bear, but grow brittle, and are easily provoked, and run into unseemly things, and are in that that vaunteth itself, and are puffed up, and are rash, heady, high-minded, and fierce, and become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal; but this is contrary to the nature of the love of God, which is kind, and endureth all things, and beareth all things. And therefore all, dear Friends and brethren, dwell in the love of God; for they who dwell in love dwell in God, and God in them. And keep in the word of wisdom, that is gentle, pure, and peaceable; and in the word of patience, that endureth and beareth all things; which word of patience the devil and the world and all his instruments can never wear out. It will wear them all out; for it was before they were, and will be when they are gone—the pure, holy word of God, by which all God's children are born again, and feed on the milk thereof, and live and grow by it. And so my desires are that ye may all be of one heart, mind, soul, and spirit in Christ Jesus. Amen. G. F.

Towards the latter end of this year I went down to Kingston to visit Friends there, and stayed some time at my son Rouse's, near Kingston. After this I returned to London, and continued there a month in the service of the Lord, being daily exercised either in public meetings or

more particular services relating to the church of Christ, as visiting such as were sick or afflicted, and writing books or papers for the spreading of truth or refuting of error.

When I had stayed about a month in London, I got out of town again; for, by reason of the many hardships I had undergone in imprisonments and other sufferings for truth's sake, my body was grown so infirm and weak that I could not bear the closeness of the city long together, but was fain to go a little into the country where I might have the benefit of the fresh air. At this time I went with my son-in-law, William Mead, to his country-house, called Gooses, in Essex (about thirteen miles from London), where I stayed about two weeks.

The beginning of the Third month I returned to London, and continued there till after the yearly meeting, which began on the sixteenth of the same, and was very large, Friends having more freedom to come up out of the countries to it by reason of the general toleration and liberty now granted. By that time the yearly meeting was over. I was very much wearied and spent; wherefore, about a week after the meeting, I got out of town to a Friend's house a little beyond Edmunton, where, and at South street, I abode some time, and had meetings amongst Friends there, and at Winchmore Hill and Berry street. And having my mind continually exercised in the things of God, the sense of his infinite goodness and mercy to mankind in visiting them after they had transgressed and rebelled against Him, and providing a way and means for their return to Him again, was very much upon me; and in the opening of the Spirit of truth, I writ the following paper on that subject:

God, who made all men and women, though they have transgressed his commands and laws, and rebelled against Him, and hated his light, and grieved his Spirit, and walked despitefully against his Spirit of grace; yet God, who is merciful, would have all to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. And all that come to the knowledge of the truth must know it in their inward parts; I say, the grace and truth which comes by Jesus, all that do know and find, do know and find it in their hearts and inward parts. And such do find the hidden man of the heart, and the pearl, and the leaven, and the lost piece of silver, and the kingdom of heaven within. For, until all come to the light and truth in their hearts, they have been strangers to these things, in Adam in the fall, from the image of God, and his light, power, and spirit and kingdom. . . .

But Christ, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, doth open men's hearts and eyes and ears; who is their Saviour and Redeemer, and giveth life eternal to his people that obey Him and his truth. Blessed be the Lord for ever through Jesus Christ, who hath tasted death for all men, to bring them out of the death of Adam, and is a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified of in due time! For, as by Adam's transgression and disobedience death and condemnation came upon all men, so, by Christ's obedience unto death, justification of life is come upon all men; and he that believeth in Christ hath eternal life, but he that doth not is condemned already. But God would have all men to be saved, and come unto

the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, who is their Saviour; and in Him there is no condemnation. G. F.

Betwixt meeting and meeting I writ many things for spreading of truth and for the opening people's understandings to receive it. One was a paper, proving from the Scriptures that people must repent before they can receive the gospel and the Holy Spirit and the kingdom of God or be baptized.

Another short paper I writ about the same time, shewing wherein God's people should be like unto Him:

God is righteous, and He would have his people to be righteous and to do righteously. And God is holy, and He would have his people holy and to do holily. And God is just, and He would have his people to be just and to do justly to all. God is light, and his children must walk in his light. And God is an eternal, infinite Spirit, and his children must walk in the Spirit. God is merciful, and He would have his people to be merciful. God's sun shines upon the good and the bad; and He causes the rain to fall upon the evil and the good: so should his people do good unto all. God is love; and they that dwell in love, dwell in God. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law (Rom. xiii. 10). And the apostle saith, All the law is fulfilled in one word —even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself (Gal. v. 14). As the Father hath loved me, so I have loved you; continue ye in my love (John xv. 9). This should be the practice of all God's people. G. F.

Gooses, the 6th month, 1687.

And because most people would own and confess that God's people should be thus, but few know how to come to this state. Therefore in the openings of the spirit of truth, I writ another short paper, directing to the right way and means whereby people might come unto Christ, and so be made like unto God.

Christ saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me (John xiv. 6). And, again, No man can come to me except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him (John vi. 44). Now, what is the means by which God doth draw people to his Son, but by his Holy Spirit, who poureth out of his Spirit upon all flesh (that is, all men and women). And by this Holy Spirit the holy and righteous God doth draw people from their unrighteousness and unholiness to Christ, the righteous and holy One, the great Prophet in his new covenant and new testament, whom Moses, in the old covenant and testament, said, God would raise up like unto Him, and whom people should hear in all things, and they that would not hear Him should be cut off. Now they that do not hear the Son of God, the great Prophet, do not mind the drawing of the Father by his Holy Spirit to his Son; but they that do mind the drawings of the good Spirit of the Father to his Son, the Spirit doth give them understanding to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life. And then they do know that Jesus Christ is the way, the truth, and the life, and that none can come unto God but by and through his Son Jesus Christ, who is their shepherd to feed them at his pastures and springs of life. . . . And so they know that Christ is the bishop of their souls,

to see that they do not go astray from God, nor out of his pastures of life. And they do know that Christ is their mediator, and makes their peace with God. And they do know that Christ is their high-priest, made higher than the heavens, and hath died for their sins, and doth cleanse them with his blood, and is risen for their justification, and is able to the utmost to save all that come to God by Him.

Gooses, the 6th month, 1687. G. F.

Before I left this place I writ another paper, the scope whereof was to shew, by many instances taken out of the holy Scriptures, that the kingdom of God, which most people talk of at a distance, and refer altogether to another life, is in some measure to be known and entered into in this life; but that none can know an entrance thereinto but such as are regenerated and born again. Of that paper the following are concluding passages:

John saith, Christ was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world (John i. 9). And that, As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God (ver. 12), which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God (ver. 13). Now the reason why people do not become the sons of God, is because they do not receive Christ. The Jews, the great professors, which had the promises, prophesies, figures, and shadows of Him, they would not receive Him when He came. And now the priests and high professors of Christ, they are so far from receiving the light of Christ, and believing in it, that they

have hated the light, and scoff at it, calling it a natural conscience. . . . They that do not receive Christ Jesus, but hate his light (which is the life in Him), and yet profess Him in words, such neither know the children of the light, nor true fellowship in the light, nor the kingdom of God that stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; but by the light they are condemned. . . . But the children of the light, that walk in the light, they come to heavenly Jerusalem, and to the city of the living God, and to the innumerable company of angels, and to the general assembly and church of the first-born, that are written in heaven, and can sing Hallelujah.

Many things I writ while I was at Kingston, amongst which the following paper was one:

God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish (mark, *not perish*), but have everlasting life (John iii. 16). And, again, He saith, He that believeth on the Son of God hath (mark, *hath*) everlasting life (ver. 36). So these believers have everlasting life while they are upon the earth. And, He that believeth on Christ is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth on him. And, He that heareth Christ's word and believeth on God that sent Him, hath (mark, *hath*) everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death (the death in the first Adam) to life (the life in Christ, the second Adam) (John v. 24). And that meat which Christ doth give endureth unto everlasting life, as in John vi. 27. And the water that

Christ doth give shall be in him that drinks it—a well of water springing up into everlasting life (John iv. 14). Christ said to the Jews, Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come to me that ye might have life (John v. 39, 40). Here ye may see the eternal life is to be found in Christ, and not in the Scriptures which testify of Him, the life. Christ's sheep, that hear his voice, and know and follow Him, He gives unto them eternal life; and they shall not perish, neither shall any pluck them out of his hand. . . . Therefore I desire that God's people may endure all things, that they may obtain this salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory—a glory which is eternal; for, Christ being made perfect, became the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey Him.

It was in the Seventh month, 1688, that I returned to London, having been near three months in the country for my health's sake, which now was very much impaired, so that I was hardly able to stay in a meeting the whole time thereof, and often after a meeting was fain to lie down upon a bed. Yet did not my weakness of body take me off from the service of the Lord, but I continued to labour in meetings and out of meetings in the work of the Lord, as the Lord gave me opportunity and ability.

I had not been long in London before a great weight came upon me, and a sight the Lord gave me of the great bustles and troubles, revolution and change which soon after came to pass. In the sense whereof, and in the movings of the Spirit of the Lord, I writ a few lines as a general epistle to Friends to forewarn them of the approach-

ing storm, that they might all retire to the Lord, in whom safety is.

About this time great exercise and weights came upon me (as hath usually done before great revolutions and changes of government), and my strength departed from me, so that I reeled and was ready to fall as I went along the streets. And at length I could not go abroad at all, I was so weak for a pretty while, till I felt the power of the Lord to spring over all, and had received an assurance from Him that He would preserve his faithful people to Himself through all.

I writ a short paper, showing the hurt that they did, and the danger they run into who turned people from the inward manifestation of Christ in the heart:

The Jews were commanded by the law of God not to remove the outward landmark (Deut. xix. 14). And they that did so, or that caused the blind to wander, were cursed in the old covenant (Deut. xxvii. 17). In the new covenant the apostle saith, Let him be accursed that preacheth any other gospel than that which he had preached (Gal. i. 8). Now the gospel that he preached was the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth (Rom. i. 16). And the gospel that was preached to Abraham was, That in his seed all nations, and all the families of the earth, should be blessed. And in order to bring men to this blessed state, God poureth out of his Spirit upon all flesh; and Christ doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world; and the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, and teacheth the Christians, the true believers in Christ; and God doth write his law

in the true Christians' hearts, and putteth it in their minds, that they may all know the Lord, from the greatest to the least; and He giveth his word in their hearts to obey and do, and the anointing within them, so that they need not any man to teach them but as the anointing doth teach them. Now all such as turn people from the light, Spirit, grace, word, and anointing within, remove them from their heavenly landmark of their eternal inheritance, and make them blind, and cause the blind to wander from the living way to their eternal house in the heavens, and from the new and heavenly Jerusalem. So they are cursed that cause the blind to wander out of their way, and to remove them from their heavenly landmark.

G. F.

Being a little refreshed with being in the country, I went back to London, where I tarried, labouring in the work of the ministry till the middle of the Ninth month, 1689, at which time I went down with my son Mead to his house in Essex, and abode there all the winter; during which time I stirred not much abroad, unless it were sometimes to the meeting to which that family belonged, which was about half a mile from thence; but I had meetings often in the house with the family and those Friends that came thither. Many things also I writ while I was there. One was an epistle to the quarterly and yearly meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania, New England, Virginia, Maryland, the Jerseys, Carolina, and other plantations in America. And it was thus:

My dear Friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,

who, by believing in his light, are become children of his light and of his day, my desires are that you may all walk in his light and in his day, and keep the feast of Christ, our passover, who is sacrificed for us, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but let all that be purged out, that ye may be a new lump, keeping the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. . . . And serve God in newness of life, for it is the life, and a living and walking in the truth that must answer the witness of God in all people; that they, seeing your good works, may glorify our Father which is in heaven. Therefore be valiant for God's holy, pure truth, and spread it abroad among both professors and profane and the Indians. And you should write over once a year from all your yearly meetings to the yearly meeting here concerning your diligence in the truth and of its spreading, and of peoples receiving it, both professors and profane and the Indians, and concerning the peace of the church of Christ amongst yourselves. . . .

Gooses, the 28th of the 11th month, 1689. G. F.

Another paper that I writ while I was here was concerning the Ensign which Isaiah prophesied the Lord should set up for the Gentiles, which I shewed was Christ. [That paper contains the following passages:]

Now here you may see how the promises and prophecies are fulfilled in Christ Jesus, whom God hath given for an Ensign both to the Jews and Gentiles, and the Captain of their salvation; and He doth enlighten every one that

cometh into the world, that with his heavenly, divine light they might see Christ, the Lord from heaven, their Captain and Ensign, and trust in Him who is their Conqueror; who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works. . . . There were many sects among the Jews when Christ came. And now there are many sects or religions among the Christians, who believe from the Scriptures that He is come, as the Jews believed He was to come. But they that close their eyes and stop their ears to the light of Christ, they are not like to see Christ who hath enlightened them, to be their Ensign and the Captain of their Salvation, that see not with the heavenly eye, nor hear with the heavenly ear, to see and hear their heavenly Ensign and Captain of their Salvation, to convert them and heal them, that they might follow Him and be of his holy camp, and be his heavenly soldiers, to whom He gives spiritual arms and armour. . . . Also He clotheth his soldiers with fine linen, white and clean, his righteousness; and shoeth them with the everlasting gospel of peace, the power of God: which clothes and shoes will never wax old. . . . And as there is no outward captain would list a company of blind and deaf men and clothe and arm them with outward armour, so such as are blind and deaf, whose eyes are closed and ears stopped to the heavenly light of Christ, He is not like to clothe them with his fine linen, and arm them with his heavenly and spiritual armour. . . . For it is the light that shines in the heart which gives the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus, who is the Ensign and Captain of men's Salvations, and who hath brought, and doth bring, many sons unto glory.

Praises, honour, and glory be unto the Lord over all, who liveth for ever! Amen.

I returned to London and remained in the Lord's work till after the yearly meeting, in which the wonted goodness of the Lord was witnessed, his blessed presence enjoyed and his heavenly power livingly felt. I then went into the country and visited meetings, the Lord being with me, and opening many deep and weighty truths, divine and heavenly mysteries to his people through me, to their great refreshment and my joy. I came back to London and remained till the Ninth month, being continually exercised in services relating to the church of God. The parliament having a bill before them concerning oaths, and another concerning clandestine marriages, several Friends did attend the house to see to get those bills so worded that they might not be hurtful to Friends. In this service I also assisted, attending on the parliament, and discoursing the matter with several of the members. In this time several things came upon me to write, whereof one was an epistle to Friends in the ministry:

All Friends in the ministry everywhere, to whom God hath given a gift of the ministry, and who use to travel up and down in the gift of the ministry, do not hide your talent, nor put your light under a bushel, nor cumber yourselves, nor entangle yourselves with the affairs of this world. . . . But be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad in the daylight of Christ, you who have sought the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and have received it and preached it; which stands in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. As

able ministers of the Spirit, sow to the Spirit, that of the Spirit ye may reap life everlasting. And go on in the Spirit, plowing with it in the purifying hope; and threshing, with the power and Spirit of God, the wheat out of the chaff of corruption, in the same hope. . . . So my desires are that all may fulfil their ministry that the Lord Jesus Christ hath committed to them, and then by the blood (or life) and testimony of Jesus you will overcome the enemy that opposes it within and without. And all you that do preach the truth, do it as it is in Jesus, in love. And all that are believers in Jesus, and receivers of Him, He gives them power to become the sons of God, and so joint-heirs with Christ, whom He calleth brethren; and He gives them the water of life, which shall be a well in them, springing as a river up to eternal life, that they may water the spiritual plants of the living God. . . . All that be in Christ are in love, peace, and unity; and in Him they are strong and in a full persuasion; and in Him, who is the first and last, they are in a heavenly resolution and confidence for God's everlasting honour and glory. Amen.

Another epistle I writ soon after, more particularly to the Friends in the ministry that were gone into America. Which was thus:

Dear Friends and brethren that are ministers and exhorters and admonishers, that are gone into America and the islands thereaways. Stir up the gift of God in you and the pure mind, and improve your talents, that ye may be the light of the world, a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid; and let your light shine among the Indians,

and the blacks and the whites, that ye may answer the truth in them, and bring them to their standard and ensign that God hath set up, Christ Jesus. For, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, God's name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every temple, or sanctified heart, incense shall be offered up to God's name. . . . And, Friends, be not negligent, but keep up your negroes' meetings and your family meetings, and have meetings with the Indian kings and their councils and subjects everywhere, and with others; and bring them all to the baptizing and circumcising Spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship Him. And all take heed of sitting down in the earth, and having your mind in the earthly things, coveting and striving for the earth. . . . All are to keep the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. And this unleavened bread of life from heaven makes all hearts and souls glad and joyful, and lightsome and cheerful, to serve and love God, and to love and serve one another in the peaceable truth, and to keep in the unity of God's Spirit, which is the bond of (the Lord of lords and the King of all kings his) peace. In this love and peace God Almighty keep and preserve all his people, and make them valiant for his truth upon the earth, to spread it abroad both in doctrine and good life and conversation. Amen. . . .

Not long after this I returned to London, and was almost daily with Friends at meetings. And when I had been near two weeks in town the sense of the great hardships and sore sufferings that Friends had been and were under in Ireland

coming with great weight upon me, I was moved to write the following epistle as a word of consolation unto them:

Dear Friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power hath upheld through your great sufferings, exercises, trials, and hardships, . . . my confidence hath been in the Lord that He would and will support you in all your sufferings, and that He would preserve all the faithful in his wisdom. . . . The Lord carrieth his lambs in his arms, and they are as tender to Him as the apple of his eye; and his power is his hedge about his vineyard of heavenly plants. And therefore it is good for all his children to be given up to the Lord with their minds and souls, hearts and spirits, who is a faithful keeper, that never slumbers nor sleeps, but is able to preserve and keep you, and to save to the utmost; and none can hurt so much as a hair of your heads except He suffer it, to try you. . . . All power in heaven and earth is given to Him; and to you that have received Him He hath given power to become the sons and daughters of God, so living members of Christ, the living Head, and grafted into Him, in whom ye have eternal life. And Christ, the Seed, reigns, and his power is over all; who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, and was before he was. And so all of you live and walk in Christ Jesus, so that nothing may be between you and God but Christ, in whom ye have salvation, life, rest, and peace with God.

As for the passages of truth in this land and abroad, I do hear that in Holland and Germany and thereaway, Friends are in love, unity, and peace; and in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Maryland, and New England

I hear nothing but Friends are in unity and peace. The Lord preserve them all out of the world (in which there is trouble) in Christ Jesus, in whom there is peace, life, love, and unity. Amen. So my love in the Lord Jesus Christ to all Friends everywhere in your land, as though I named them. G. F.

LONDON, the 10th of the 11th month, 1690.

Thus, reader, hast thou had some account of the life and travels, labours, sufferings, and manifold trials and exercises of this holy man of God from his youth to almost the time of his death; of which himself kept a journal, out of which the foregoing sheets were transcribed. It remains that an account be added of the time, place, and manner of his death and burial. Which was thus:

The next day after he had written the foregoing epistle to Friends in Ireland he went to the meeting at Gracious street, which was large (it being on the First-day of the week); and the Lord enabled him to preach the truth fully and effectually, opening many deep and weighty things with great power and clearness. After which, having prayed, and the meeting being ended, he went to Henry Gouldney's (a Friend's house in White Hart Court, near the meeting-house); and, some Friends going with him thither, he told them, He thought he felt the cold strike to his heart as he came out of the meeting; yet added, I am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully clear. As soon as those Friends that were with him were withdrawn, he lay down upon a bed (as he sometimes used to do, through weariness after a meeting), but soon rose again, and in a little time lay

down again, complaining still of cold; and, his strength sensibly decaying, he was fain soon after to go into bed where he lay in much contentment and peace, and very sensible to the last. And as in the whole course of his life his spirit, in the universal love of God, was set and bent for the exalting of truth and righteousness and the making known the way thereof to the nations and peoples afar off, so now, in the time of his outward weakness, his mind was intent upon, and, as it were, wholly taken up with that. And some particular Friends he sent for; to whom he expressed his mind and desire for the spreading Friends' books, and truth thereby, in the world and through the nations thereof. Divers Friends came to visit him in his illness, unto some of whom he said, All is well: the Seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though (said he) I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all, and the Seed reigns over all disorderly spirits. Thus, lying in a heavenly frame of mind, his spirit wholly exercised towards the Lord, he grew weaker and weaker in his natural strength; and on the Third-day of that week, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, he quietly departed this life in peace, and sweetly fell asleep in the Lord, whose blessed truth he had livingly and powerfully preached in the meeting but two days before. Thus ended he his days in his faithful testimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and in peace and good-will to all men, on the thirteenth day of the Eleventh month, 1690, being then in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Upon the sixteenth day of the same month (being the sixth of the week, and the day appointed for his funeral), a very great concourse of Friends, and other people of

divers sorts, assembled together at the meeting-house in White Hart Court, near Gracious street, about the middle time of the day, in order to attend his body to the grave. The meeting was held about two hours with great and heavenly solemnity, manifestly attended with the Lord's blessed presence and glorious power; in which divers living testimonies were given, from a lively remembrance and sense of the blessed ministry of this dear and ancient servant of the Lord, his early entering into the Lord's work at the breaking forth of this gospel-day, his innocent life, long and great travels, and unwearied labours of love in the everlasting gospel, for the turning and gathering many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, the foundation of true faith; his manifold sufferings, afflictions, and oppositions which he met withal for his faithful testimony, both from his open adversaries and from false brethren; and his preservations, deliverances and dominion in, out of, and over them all by the power of God: to whom the glory and honour always was by him, and is and always ought to be by all, ascribed.

After the meeting was ended, his body was borne by Friends, and accompanied by very great numbers of Friends and other people, to Friends' burying-ground, near Bunhill Fields, where, after a solemn waiting upon the Lord, and several living testimonies borne, recommending the company to the guidance and protection of that divine Spirit and power by which this holy man of God had been raised up, furnished, supported, and preserved to the end of his day, his body was decently committed to the earth; but his memorial shall remain, and be everlastingly blessed among the righteous.

THE END.

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